# TERTULLIANI

## APOLOGETICUS ADVERSUS GENTES PRO CHRISTIANIS

*T. HERBERT BINDLEY*

London

HENRY FROWDE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE

AMEN CORNER, E.C.

QUINTI SEPTIMII FLORENTIS

# TERTULLIANI

## APOLOGETICUS ADVERSUS GENTES PRO CHRISTIANIS

*EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

T. HERBERT BINDLEY, M.A.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

'Quid Tertulliani eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeticus ejus et contra gentes libelli cunctam saeculi obtinent disciplinam.'

HIERONYMUS, Epist. lxxxiii.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1889

# PREFACE.

In preparing this edition of Tertullian's Apology I have endeavoured to meet the wants of young theological students and to supply such notes as it seemed likely would prove helpful to them in their study of a text confessedly difficult in style and abounding in references mythological, philosophical, historical, and legal. In respect of style Tertullian is often his own best interpreter, and references will be found in the notes to parallel uses of words and constructions in his other writings which should be carefully compared. For the sake of convenience the composite text printed in Migne's Patrologia Latina, vol. i. (Paris, 1844) has been made the basis of the present edition, but all the important variant readings have, I hope, been noticed, while some of them have been preferred to the text. An account of the manuscripts of Tertullian's writings is given in the Introduction to the first volume of Oehler's edition, and some remarks upon the same subject will be found in the Preface to the volume of Tertullian in the Library of the Fathers (Oxford, 1854).

I have thought it better not to overburden the notes with the names of authorities, but I wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to Oehler, Bonwetsch, Kaye, Harnack, the commentators in Migne, and the earlier authors quoted and referred to by these

writers. I am also indebted to Woodham's edition of the Apology, to Dodgson's annotated translation in the Library of the Fathers, and to Professor Fuller's vigorous monograph in Smith and Wace's Dictionary of Christian Biography. Dr. Plummer's 'Church of the Early Fathers,' and Dr. Westcott's essay, *The Two Empires*, appended to his 'Epistles of S. John,' have suggested several remarks in the Introduction and Notes. The modern literature on Tertullian's era, writings, and character is catalogued at the end of the articles on Tertullian in the Dictionary of Christian Biography and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

It remains to tender my thanks to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their acceptance of the work for publication, and to express my gratitude to the Rev. Canon Bright, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, for his encouragement and helpful criticisms while the book was in preparation.

T. H. B.

Bournemouth, *March*, 1889.

# CORRIGENDA.

Page xxx, last line, *for* April 8 *read* April 6
„ 4, line 3 from bottom, *for* Plautus *read* Plautius
„ 9, „ 26, *for* as some mss. and edd. *read* as the mss. and some edd. See Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. 57; ii. 533.
„ 21, „ 22, *for* ad Scap. 5. *read* ad Scap. 4
„ 21, „ 25, *for* vii. 17 *read* vii. 15
„ 22, „ 24, *for* unanimous *read* nearly unanimous, *and add* see Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. 15 f.
„ 22, „ 4 from bottom, *for* the Paris MS. *read* two mss. used by Pamelius.
„ 28, „ 21, *for* conditio *read* condicio
„ 34, „ 6, *for* qua *read* aqua
„ 50, „ 23, *for* vi. 21 *read* vi. 213 ff.
„ 58, „ 6, *for* ista civitate proxime *read* ista proxime civitate
„ 62, „ 16, *for* mundum *read* mundus
„ 64, „ 7 from bottom, *for* vi. 6 *read* vii. 6
„ 66, „ 16 from bottom, *for* Ps. xxxviii. 5. *read* xxxix. 5.
„ 71, „ 2, *for* pulsat, unum *read* pulsat. Unum
„ 71, „ 3, *insert colon after* praefanti : *and comma after* si forte
„ 78, „ 10 from bottom, *for* one ms. only *read* several mss.
„ 96, last line, *for* adolere in sacrificial language etc. *read* of which it is probably a corruption
„ 106, line 23, *for* ch. 48 *read* ch. 46
„ 112, „ 18, *for* 183. *read* 193.
„ 115, „ 11, *for* sectae *read* secta
„ 144, „ 13, *for* effigiem, certe *read* effigiem. Certe

# INTRODUCTION.

Tertullian (Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus) was born in Carthage of heathen parentage about 160 A.D. The exact date of his birth and the names of his parents are unknown, but his father, we learn from S. Jerome[1], filled the office of a proconsular centurion, and without doubt he provided for his son a liberal education. That Tertullian as a youth did not fail to make use of his advantages is abundantly manifest from the strikingly wide range of allusion and reference noticeable in his works, and particularly in the Apology, de pallio, and de corona[2]. Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 2) speaks of his intimate knowledge of Roman law and of his reputation as a Latin writer[3]; and the statement of Trithemius (*de script. eccles.*) that Tertullian was for many years a distinguished rhetorician at Carthage seems intrinsically probable. Certainly his learning and powerful intellect, combined with his brilliant and incisive eloquence, compelled the admiration of men like S. Jerome, S. Augustine, and S. Vincent of Lerins[4].

[1] Hieron. *de viris illustr.* 53 (see the passage quoted in Appendix); *Chron. ad ann. Severi* 16, 'Tertullianus Afer centurionis proconsularis filius omnium ecclesiarum nomine celebratur.'

[2] Comp. *adv. Prax.* 3; *ad Nat.* i. 10.

[3] So Rufinus understood Eusebius' words, *τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἠκριβωκὼς ἀνήρ, τά τε ἄλλα ἔνδοξος, καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης λαμπρῶν*, *vir et legum et institutionum Romanarum peritissimus, et inter nostros scriptores admodum clarus* (Valesius).

[4] Hieron. *Ep.* lxxxiii; August. *de haer.* lxxxvi; Vinc. Ler. *Common.* 18.

I. The date of Tertullian's conversion has been variously placed between the years 185 and 196[1]. The earlier year accords with the words of S. Jerome, *cum usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter Ecclesiae permansisset,* which may be understood to imply a somewhat lengthy presbyterate; but it does not appear likely that a man of Tertullian's polemical zeal would have remained silent for twelve years—and the APOLOGY cannot be dated earlier than 197—before lifting pen to vindicate from the injustice of ignorant and malicious attack the religion he had embraced. It was most probably at Carthage, his native home, that he became a convert to Christianity, and he was soon admitted to the priesthood. Not many years could have passed, however, before he was attracted by the opinions of Montanus and his ready pen engaged in their defence. According to S. Jerome, Tertullian's lapse was immediately due to jealousy and affronts put upon him by the Roman clergy (*invidia et contumeliis clericorum Romanae ecclesiae*); but there must also have been a predisposition in the constitutional severity of the impulsive African which rendered him impatient of any toleration of laxity, and to which the stricter discipline enjoined by Montanus potently appealed. That Tertullian visited Rome we know from his own mention of the fact (*de cult. fem.*

[1] Professor Harnack in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 9th edit., adopts the view that Tertullian was for a time an eminent jurist at Rome, and is inclined to identify with the Latin Father an otherwise unknown Tertullian mentioned in the index to the Pandects as the author of two works on Roman jurisprudence. He adds, Tertullian's 'activity as a jurist at Rome must fall within the period of Commodus; for there is no indication in his writings that he was in Rome in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and many passages seem to preclude the supposition.' The dates suggested by Prof. Harnack for the facts of Tertullian's life are: Birth *cir.* 150; Conversion while at Rome *cir.* 190–195; Settled at Carthage and wrote Apology, 197; Attracted by Montanism, 202–203; Open breach with the Church, 207–208.

i. 7); but it does not appear whether this was before or after his conversion. It may be that Tertullian went to Rome as a presbyter, and whilst there openly professed his attachment to the 'New Prophecy,' subsequently returning to Carthage. His acquaintance with the details of the action taken by the Roman church with regard to Marcion and Valentinus (*de praescr. haer.* 30) does not necessarily imply any long stay in Rome; and it seems clear from expressions in his writings that Carthage was his usual place of residence (*de pall.* 1; *Apol.* 9; *de res. carn.* 42; *scorp.* 6; comp. Optatus *adv. Parmenian.* 1; 'Praedestinatus' *de haer.* 26).

The date of Tertullian's death cannot be determined with certainty, but modern criticism in adopting the year 240 agrees with the report mentioned by S. Jerome that he lived to extreme old age (*usque ad decrepitam aetatem*). His literary activity was enormous: his extant treatises number upwards of thirty, and half of these were composed within the brief space of three or four years (197-200). It is, happily, unnecessary in this short introduction to the Apology to enter into the vexed question of the order and dates of Tertullian's other works, or to enlarge upon the heresy of Montanus, inasmuch as the Apology was written, perhaps while Tertullian was still a layman—at all events before the mind of the great Latin Father became tainted with the Phrygian fanaticism[1].

II. It will be convenient, before examining the Apology in detail, to place the Carthaginian Church of Tertullian's

[1] Bonwetsch, *Die Schriften Tertullians nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung* (Bonn, 1878); *Geschichte des Montanismus* (Erlangen, 1881); Kaye's volume on Tertullian's writings; and the articles Tertullian and Montanus in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christ. Biography* may be referred to on these subjects.

day in its proper setting in the history of the empire, and to exhibit the position which Christianity occupied under the Roman laws.

1. The city of Carthage had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune. Founded, according to common tradition, 100 years before Rome by a colony from Phoenicia, it had extended its power and commerce throughout the Mediterranean, and finally was confronted as a rival only by Rome herself. Harassed and depleted during the three Punic wars (264—146 B.C.) Carthage long maintained the struggle for her life,—but lost. Devoted to destruction by Scipio, a century passed by before the city could be revivified; and though an abortive attempt to form a colony and build a city there, with the appellation 'Junonia' was made in 122 B.C. by Caius Gracchus (Plutarch. *C. Gracch.* 11; Solin. *Polyhist.* 27), and again after a long interval a somewhat similar undertaking essayed by Julius Caesar, it was not until the time of Augustus that the resuscitation of the colony was carried to completion. In the time of Tertullian the city was the administrative and religious metropolis of Africa; it possessed famous schools of rhetoric and of law (Juven. vii. 149); and it was one of the great emporia of Italian commerce, the district around being one of the most fertile, wealthy, and populous of the Roman provinces. Its population resembled that of other Roman provinces in that it combined an admixture of discordant races. The original inhabitants, Numidians and Moors, were already divided by differences of race and colour: to these were added the descendants of the old Phoenician colonists: later, and especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, a considerable influx of Jews introduced a new element: lastly, the Roman influence which, more perhaps in Africa than in other provinces, in virtue of

its strength of organization and superior culture, held the ascendancy and penetrated the whole. The religion of the Carthaginians was a fusion of native and Roman cults. The Romans always showed consideration for the religious sentiments of their conquered subjects, and amongst foreign deities favoured those which could be most easily assimilated to the gods of Rome (comp. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 6; Macrobius iii. 9). During the period of its independence Carthage had possessed on the summit of Byrsa a temple dedicated to Aesculapius; but the Roman colony when rebuilding the town and acropolis preferred to replace the popular cult of this deity by that of the ancient Carthaginian goddess Tanit, to whom the Romanized Africans gave the name of Caelestis, the tutelary deity of Carthage, the analogue of the Roman Juno, and easily interchangeable with the celestial goddess[1]. The favour of this goddess had been invoked upon the military exploits of Hanno and Hannibal; and under the Roman administration the worship of Juno-Caelestis extended to all the provinces of which Carthage was the capital. The sacred robe of Caelestis was used to invest the African usurper Cornelius Celsus in A.D. 265 with the imperial insignia (Treb. Poll. *Tyr. Trig.* 29); and the cult of this deity was still a source of trouble to the Christian Church in the fifth century[2]. The temple of Caelestis is described by a writer in 429 who had been a witness of its destruction (*de prom. et praed. Dei* iii. 38. 5 *apud* S. Prosp. opera), and its

[1] See two African inscriptions in Wilmanns *Inscript. Afr. Lat.*, *C. I. L.* viii. 1424, 4286, cited by M. Castan, *Le Capitole de Carthage* (Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, 1885), to whose interesting paper I am indebted for the above remarks.

[2] Salvian. *de gubern. Dei* viii. 2, 'Habebant quippe intra muros patrios intestinum scelus, Caelestem illam scilicet, Afrorum daemonem dico . . . Quis enim non eorum qui Christiani appellabantur Caelestem illam aut post Christum adoravit aut, quod est pejus multo, ante quam Christum?'

triple sanctuary fulfilled the double function of a shrine dedicated to the tutelary goddess, and of a capitoline temple. In the eyes of the Roman colonists it was an imitation of the Capitol at Rome; to the Carthaginian population it was before all things a restoration of the temple of Caelestis, and it was this last name which prevailed at the time when Carthage had become a Christian metropolis (see the notes, chap. 12)[1].

It was this famous city, the Rome of Africa, with its mixed population, saturated with pagan fashions, superstitions, and dissoluteness[2], which, about the date of the Apology, was rapidly becoming one of the most important centres of Western Christianity. Yet the date of the foundation of the Christian Church in Africa cannot be accurately fixed. We must, however, assume it to have been at the close of the first, or early in the second century, in order to give sufficient time for such growth and extension as would justify the language of Tertullian regarding the numbers of the Christians in his own day (*Apol.* 1, 37; see notes). S. Augustine (*Epist.* 25) and perhaps S. Cyprian (*Epp.* 48, 73) trace the introduction of Christianity into Africa from Rome: its extraordinary success is attested by the expression of S. Cyprian (*Ep.* 73), 'in hodiernum tot millia haereticorum in provinciis nostris ad Ecclesiam conversi'; and by the fact that in the same letter, written in A.D. 256, he mentions seventy-one bishops collected together from pro-consular Africa and Numidia[3]; and that in a synod held in the previous year eighty-four bishops were present. Christianity penetrated

[1] The site of this temple is now occupied by the Chapelle St. Louis, which was built on the Byrsine hill in 1841.

[2] See a graphic description of Carthage a century and a half later by Salvian (*de gubern. Dei* vii. 16) who terms it 'libidinum sentina.'

[3] At the first Council of Carthage, about A.D. 218–222; Héfelé i. 87.

all classes of society and gathered its converts alike from the rural districts and from the cities. The very persecutions which fell upon the African Church with cruel if intermittent severity, served only to increase its numbers and influence, and to attract thoughtful men of every rank to its fold. The steadfast faith, pure morals, and unflinching courage of the Christian martyrs had no small influence, we may believe, in bringing about the conversion of Tertullian himself (*Apol.* 50).

The city of Carthage, then, as the metropolis of African Christianity, occupies an important position in the history of the early Church. In one respect Carthage was more Roman than Rome herself; for Rome was thoroughly Greek during the first and second centuries, while Carthage was essentially Latin in thought and speech from the first. The earliest Latin version of the Scriptures was made in Africa, and it is not too much to say that nearly all the ecclesiastical Latin which has passed into the current language of theology was coined in the African mint, and chiefly by Tertullian. Proconsular Africa, too, furnished a distinct school of Christian apologetic literature; but of this we shall have more to say presently. We must turn to examine the status of the Christian religion from the Roman point of view.

2. Christianity from the first moment of its promulgation, as a *religio nova*, was liable to come into collision with Roman law. Its existence was contrary to the old decree of the Twelve Tables, alluded to *Apol.* 5, which forbade the introduction of any new deity without the sanction of the Senate. SEPARATIM NEMO HABESSIT DEOS, NEVE NOVOS SIVE ADVENAS NISI PUBLICE ADSCITOS PRIVATIM COLUNTO (Cicero *de leg.* ii. 8). So long as it remained unrecognized by law (*religio illicita*) its adherents might be proceeded against independently of specially antagonistic imperial legis-

lation. From very early days Christianity, whether confused with Judaism or distinguished from it, had been regarded with ever-increasing disfavour by the pagan populace; but Nero, whatever may have been his motive, was the first emperor who authorized a direct persecution of the Christians, A.D. 64 (Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44; Sueton. *Nero* 16; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 25; Tert. *Apol.* 5). And the edicts against the Christians were the only enactments of Nero's reign that remained unrepealed at the time when Tertullian was writing (*ad Nat.* i. 7). The policy of Vespasian and Titus (A.D. 69–81) scarcely affected the progress of Christianity; but the close of Domitian's reign (A.D. 95) was marked by a fitful attack upon it in which the illustrious Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla suffered (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 17, 18). On the accession of Nerva, Domitian's edicts were rescinded and the exiles recalled (Euseb. *ib.* 20).

The policy of Trajan (which Tertullian ridicules *Apol.* 2, but views more favourably *ib.* 5) in his celebrated Letter to Pliny, A.D. 112 (*Epp.* x. 97) must be judged leniently. His decision formally and definitely confirmed the existing position at law of the Christians, pronouncing the profession of their religion a crime, but securing for them a legal trial and forbidding both officious enquiries and anonymous accusations. It was by no means a direct attack upon Christianity, yet it gave a fresh impulse to the hostility of local officials who had already employed the same emperor's earlier rescript against gilds and associations (to which Pliny alludes *Epp.* x. 96) to put a stop to the Christian assemblies (see note *Apol.* 38). The attitude of Trajan was preserved by Hadrian in his letter to Fundanus, A.D. 124; while his successor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) is said to have been even more lenient and to have issued edicts protecting the Christians from fresh attacks (see notes *Apol.* 5), though

several martyrdoms, notably S. Polycarp's (A. D. 155–6), have to be dated in this reign.

On the death of Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius reversed the methods of Trajan and Hadrian, and by far the severest persecution which had yet befallen the Christians ensued. Melito of Sardis (*apud* Euseb. iv. 26) addressing the emperor and referring to events in Asia, states that in consequence of a new and atrocious edict informants against the Christians were encouraged by being presented with the property of the accused, but he professes to doubt whether Aurelius was personally responsible for the decree. However this may have been, the roll of martyrs was replenished from all parts of the empire, but the persecution seems to have fallen most cruelly upon the Christians in the district of Lyon and Vienne in A.D. 177 after the return of Aurelius to Rome for the celebration of the thirty-fifth anniversary of his admission to the proconsular power (Euseb. v. 1). In A. D. 178 Aurelius and his son Commodus set out on a renewed expedition against the Marcomanni, but the death of Aurelius early in the spring of 180 (March 17) left Commodus sole emperor, and on his return to Rome the Christians enjoyed a temporary respite (Euseb. v. 21).

From this date until the edict of Severus in 202 (see below), no special enactments were put forth against the Christians, and there are reasons for believing that the Apology was written before its promulgation. Yet, although they lacked imperial instigation, persecutions were both frequent and severe (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 20. 125). They were due to popular outbreaks (*nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum quam vulgus; Apol.* 35), private malice, and especially to that mob-violence,—to which the magistrates themselves were sometimes obliged to yield (*Apol.* 49),—which wreaks its unreasoning vengeance upon a hated though

innocent class in times of public calamity and panic (*Apol.* 40). The hostility of paganism, though in one sense legally fostered, in its practical issue was little more than mob-law, and recked little of legal form, proceeding to condemn upon mere rumour and uncorroborated slander (*Apol.* 7, 37). Checked or abetted by the leniency or antagonism of local magistrates (*ad Scap.* 4), furious attacks upon the Christians were of constant recurrence, as the bitter cries of the Apologists testify.

The period of quiet enjoyed by the Christians on the accession of Commodus was not due to any favour shown to the Church by the gladiator-emperor, but to the brutality of his domestic policy, which left his subjects, amidst the plenitude of their own grievances, no opportunity to indulge their spite against the Christian sect. The intolerable rule of Commodus was at length brought to a tragic close on the night of December 31, 192, when Laetus, Eclectus, and Marcia united in the poisoning and strangling of their emperor, with the assistance of an athlete named Narcissus (see note *Apol.* 35). On the following day Pertinax was elevated to the purple by the praetorians, but the severe discipline of his rule proved hardly more acceptable to the soldiery than the licentious cruelty of Commodus. Pertinax was assassinated on March 25 after a reign of eighty-six days, and the empire, shamelessly put up to auction by the praetorian guard, was purchased by Didius Julianus. His imperial title was nevertheless challenged by three rivals—Clodius Albinus in Britain, Piscennius Niger in Syria, and Septimius Severus in Pannonia. Severus marched on Rome, having adroitly postponed an immediate conflict with Albinus by acknowledging him as Caesar. Didius Julianus was promptly beheaded (June 2), and Severus turned his attention to the more serious opposition in the East. Niger had been

saluted Augustus at Antioch, and was acknowledged by the East and by Egypt. But his soldiers were no match for the legions of Severus. Successive defeats at Cyzicus, Nicaea, and near the Issus crushed his cause, and he was finally captured and beheaded at Antioch in 194. Byzantium alone remained in the hands of Niger's party, and for more than two years it withstood a severe siege.

Meanwhile Severus was occupied with wars in Arabia and Mesopotamia, during which he concluded a treaty with Abgarus, King of Edessa, who assisted him with forces. On the fall of Byzantium in 196 Severus hurried westward to meet the ambitious Albinus who had assumed the title of Augustus, and had crossed into Gaul. Albinus was finally defeated and slain in the plain of Trevoux near Lyon on February 19, 197. Severus returned to Rome, and after inflicting capital punishment upon numbers of Albinus' adherents, set out again for the East against the Parthians who had invaded Mesopotamia. He remained in the East for some years, passing through Syria and Egypt and investigating the remnants of Niger's faction. Albinus and Niger are mentioned *Apology* 35, and probably the Parthian expedition of Severus is alluded to *ib.* 37; but Tertullian at the time of writing the Apology apparently knew nothing of the edict of Severus in 202 which forbade the Jews and Christians to make proselytes[1]; otherwise he would almost certainly have referred to it when describing the laws whose authority was invoked against the Christians (*Apol.* 4, 5; see notes).

III. The date of the Apology, then, falls between the overthrow of Albinus in February, 197, and the rescript of Severus in 202, with a preference for the earlier year.

The treatise was addressed to the proconsul and governors

[1] 'Judaeos fieri sub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.' Spartian. *Severus* 17.

of Africa, and was written at Carthage[1]. The purpose of Tertullian in presenting it was to show how baseless and unreasonable were the charges which led to the persecutions from which his fellow-Christians were suffering. He made an appeal to Roman common-sense, and delivered it with that fiery vigour of impassioned pleading which was his peculiar characteristic. The course of the argument will be found in the Synopsis. His style is trenchant and forcible: his sharp intellect and impulsive temperament (*acris et vehementis ingenii*) hurry him along from point to point as he triumphantly lashes with sarcasm and crushes his opponents. Tertullian was a skilled rhetorician, and though his intense love of epigram and antithesis often involves his style in harshness and obscurity, yet his originality and brilliance always compensate for some uncouthness of verbal expression (cp. Lact. v. 1).

IV. Tertullian is conspicuous amongst the early defenders of the Faith as the founder of the African school of Christian apologetics. He was followed by Minucius Felix,

[1] The Apology itself furnishes evidence in opposition to the statement of Eusebius (v. 5) that it was addressed to the Roman Senate. It contains many expressions only natural from the pen of one writing in a proconsular province and addressing a provincial executive.

1. The titles given to those to whom the work is presented—*Romani imperii antistites*, ch. 1; *praesides*, ch. 2, 9, 30, 50,—are not those with which it would be natural to approach the Senate. The *praesides* were provincial governors ('quorum [praetorum] in provinciis jurisdictionem praesides earum habent,' Gai. *Inst.* i. 6; comp. Capitol. *Ant. Pius* 6, 'in provinciis bonos praesides detineret').

2. The expressions—*imperium cujus ministri estis*, ch. 2; *ecce in illa rel. urbe Aeneadum*, ch. 9; *Romae postremo . . . sanguinem Christ. seminaverunt*, ch. 21; *ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem convenio*, ch. 35—plainly show that Tertullian was not writing in Rome; and the closing phrase of ch. 45, *Deum non proconsulem timentes*, implies that the persons addressed were living under a proconsular government. Compare too the manner in which Rome and the Romans are spoken of ch. 21 and 24 *pass.*

Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius. This school was distinguished by the cogency of its appeals alike to justice and the human conscience, the force of its forensic pleading on behalf of Christianity, and the keenness of its attack upon paganism; yet its penetration was somewhat marred by a narrowness of view which regarded all history, all thought, and all religion, previous to the Advent of Christ as abhorrent: paganism in every form stood absolutely condemned as the rival effort of the opponent of God to enslave the human intellect and deter it from the knowledge of the Truth. To strip the conscience and mind of man of all daemoniacal accretions and to confront it, in its simple natural state, with the Divine message, was the object of these writers. The method of the Carthaginian school was the exact reverse of that pursued by the more liberal minded of the Greek Apologists. Carthage and Alexandria represented the centres of two opposite schools of thought. The Alexandrian apologists (e. g. Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen) adopted a more comprehensive and sympathetic attitude, and delighted to trace in the philosophy and history of the past those yearnings after, and approximations to, the Truth which constituted, in the history of the world, a preparation for Christianity. Both classes of writers appealed to the natural conscience and soul of man (see notes, ch. 17), and for the same purpose,—to elicit its witness to the Supreme Being; but the method of approach was different. The one saw in the history of pagan thought nothing but a pernicious falsification and obscuring of the Divine truth and light; the other found in it an evidence of the natural craving of the human for the Divine. So Tertullian denied that the Church and the Academy had anything in common (*de praescr. haer.* 7; *Apol.* 46); while Origen and S. Clement held that the 'true scribe brings all kinds of

learning into the Gospel net.' The two attitudes of mind can hardly be better summarized and contrasted than by setting side by side the forcible canon of the 'Fourth Council of Carthage,' (can. 16), 'A bishop should not read the books of the Gentiles,' and the noble comment of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates on 1 Thess. v. 21, 'What is good, wherever it may be, is the property of the Truth,' (*H. E.* iii. 16). For the Church at large could not afford to lay aside so useful a weapon of defence as was ready to her hand in the intimate knowledge of classic writings such as many of her strongest champions possessed; while her most successful apologists—even those who most decried it—were all brought up in, and had gained their dialectic skill from, a classical education.

The Apology of Tertullian, then, reflecting the African temperament, is not merely a defence of Christianity, but also an attack upon Paganism. It consists, indeed, primarily of a forensic pleading, in which the injustice of the condemnation of the Christians is exposed and their innocence established, and in which certain valuable evidential passages (e.g. ch. 17–23) are introduced; but, as an integral part of the discussion, paganism and heathen morality are denounced and condemned; for Tertullian invariably retorts upon the accusers the charges alleged, whether of moral and criminal vice or of sacrilegious and treasonable offence. Indeed the refutation and the retort may be deemed the essentials of the 'Apology,' while the evidential passages are rather incidental and contingent upon the former. The main object of the treatise is kept clearly in view throughout—*ne religio Christiana ignorata damnetur* (ch. 1); and it was no part of Tertullian's plan to produce a complete system of Christian evidences, or to set out in detail the whole doctrine and worship of the Catholic Church (comp. Lact.

v. 4). He was writing *adversus Gentes pro Christianis*; and to expect to find in the 'Apology' statements upon subjects which the nature of the work excluded is to court disappointment. Yet the sources of fuller information are always indicated. The *instrumentum litteraturae* (ch. 18) and the *regula veritatis transmissa per comites Christi* (ch. 47) form a *thesaurus* to which the 'enquirer' is directed, that he may 'find, believe, and worship.'

# ANALYSIS.

I. Preface; ch. 1–6.

i. The injustice and misrepresentation from which the Christians suffered (*iniquitas odii erga nos publici*); ch. 1–3.

ii. The nature of the laws enforced against them; ch. 4–6.

II. Refutation of Accusations; ch. 7–38.

i. Secret Atrocities (*occulta facinora*); ch. 7-9.

ii. Open Crimes (*manifestiora facinora*); ch. 10–38:

1. Sacrilege (*crimen laesae R. religionis, divinitatis, sacrilegii*); ch. 10–27:

(1) The charge disproved and retorted; ch. 10–15.

(2) Exposure of calumnious reports respecting the Christian Deity; ch. 16.

(3) Statement of the real nature of the Christian religion (*demonstratio religionis nostrae*); ch. 17–21.

(4) Arraignment of the heathen gods; ch. 22–27.

2. Disloyalty (*crimen laesae augustioris majestatis*); ch. 28–38:

(1) The charge disproved and retorted; ch. 28–32.

(2) The true and greater loyalty of the Christians exhibited; ch. 33–38.

III. Discussion of incidental points of objection to the Christians; ch. 39–50.

i. Statement of the beneficial nature of the Christian religion (*ipsa negotia Christianae religionis*). The Christian *agape* NOT an infamous and extravagant feast; ch. 39.

ii. Christianity NOT the cause of public disasters (*omnis publicae cladis Christiani sunt in caussa*); ch. 40, 41.

iii. Christianity NOT profitless to legitimate trades (*infructuosi in negotiis*); ch. 42–45.

iv. Christianity NOT a school of philosophy (*philosophiae genus*); ch. 46–50.

# SYNOPSIS.

**I. Introduction.**

CHAPTER I. The injustice which condemns the Christians unheard arises from ignorance, but is nevertheless culpable.

,, II. The ordinary procedure observed in all criminal cases before condemnation,—namely, charge, defence, and proof of guilt,—is disregarded in our case alone. If we are guilty, at least give us the same advantages as other criminals.

,, III. The mere name of 'Christian' is made a term of reproach and the ground of a criminal charge.

,, IV. Even were we to establish our innocence there are laws in existence antagonistic to us, laws both unjust and inconsistent, and for the amendment of which there is ample precedent.

,, V. Direct legislation against us has only proceeded from the worst emperors.

,, VI. You who avow the greatest reverence for the institutions and enactments of your ancestors are the very people who most shamelessly disregard them.

**II. Refutation of Accusations.**

i. *Secret Atrocities.*

CHAPTER VII. We are charged with the most infamous secret enormities on no evidence but that of mere rumour,—and rumour is proverbially mendacious.

,, VIII. The crimes you impute to us are absolutely impossible to Christians.

,, IX. As a matter of fact it is you yourselves, and not we, who commit such atrocities.

ii. *Open Crimes.*

1. Sacrilege.

CHAPTER X. You accuse us of sacrilege and disloyalty. We do not reverence your gods, because they were once nothing more than mortal men.

,, XI. They do not deserve the name of gods, for they created nothing, and were moreover guilty of hideous crimes.

,, XII. You yourselves heap indignities and insults upon them, similar to those which you inflict upon us.

CHAPTER XIII. You dishonour them alike by your multiplication of their number, by your shameless traffic in them, and by the character of those whom you admit to their company.

,, XIV. You cheat them in your religious rites, and you ridicule them in your literature.

,, XV. You deride them in your theatres, and pollute their temples by the committal of the grossest sins. It is, in fact, you yourselves who are guilty of sacrilege, and not we Christians, who never enter your temples.

,, XVI. After refuting certain erroneous ideas I will set forth the main features of our religion.

We do not worship an ass's head. You worship all kinds of beasts and cattle.

If you assert that we pay homage to the cross, you must plead guilty to the same charge.

If we *were* worshippers of the sun we should only resemble the Persians; and our observance of Sun-day is met by your observance of Saturn's day.

Your latest calumny about us is the monstrous 'ass-born deity of the Christians;' a monstrosity which *you* surely might well worship: *we* only smile at the absurdity.

,, XVII. We worship One God, the Creator of the universe, invisible and incomprehensible, to whom nature and the human conscience witness.

,, XVIII. Who, for our fuller and closer approach to Himself, gave us His written word, and sent us inspired teachers.

,, XIX. The authority of the scriptures is vindicated by their antiquity, which is higher than that of any heathen record.

,, XX. Their majesty and divinity are obvious: history has fulfilled, and is daily fulfilling, what they foretell.

,, XXI. The Jews regarded Christ as a mere man; we acknowledge Him as the Incarnate Son of God, who lived a wonderful life, and was crucified, as He Himself and the prophets foretold. After His death He rôse again on the third day and finally ascended into heaven. If His Divinity be true, all other religions must be false.

,, XXII. There are evil spirits called daemons, who work evil amongst men, and deter them from coming to the knowledge of the True God.

CHAPTER XXIII. Your gods are nothing but daemons, as they themselves will confess if confronted by a Christian who adjures them in the Name of Christ.

„ XXIV. You, then, are the really irreligious people by the confession wrung from your own gods.

Religious liberty ought to be allowed to everyone. Christians alone are forbidden to worship their God.

„ XXV. The prosperity of your empire cannot be due, as you maintain, to your manifold religious observances; for these are posterior to the establishment of the empire.

„ XXVI. The rise and fall of kingdoms are in the hand of the One True God, Who is above all.

„ XXVII. Since your gods are no gods, we conscientiously refuse to sacrifice to them. You are deceived by the daemons, but we triumph over them, even in our sufferings.

2. Disloyalty.

CHAPTER XXVIII. We come now to the charge of Disloyalty to the emperor. You reverence your emperor more than all your gods.

„ XXIX. The gods are in his power: why, then, should we sacrifice to them on his behalf?

„ XXX. We pray for the emperor to the True God, Who alone has power to grant petitions, and in Whose hand are all emperors.

„ XXXI. This statement is not a mere subterfuge; for our scriptures command us to pray for kings, and even for our enemies and persecutors.

„ XXXII. Besides, we desire the continuance of the Roman empire, because the end of all things will follow upon its dissolution. We do not swear by the genius, but by the safety of the emperor, who exercises his power under the will of God.

„ XXXIII. We Christians regard the emperor with the greater reverence, because we believe him to be appointed by God.

„ XXXIV. 'Lord' is no proper title of an emperor, but belongs to God alone.

„ XXXV. We refuse to keep the emperor's festivals after the licentious manner of the mob. The vulgar

have always been our greatest persecutors. The really disloyal subjects have in every case been, not Christians, but men who zealously observed your own rites, sacrificing to the emperor and swearing by his genius.

CHAPTER XXXVI. These enemies were Romans, yet we who are not enemies are denied the name of Romans.

Our religion knows no respect of persons: we are kindly disposed towards all, whether emperors or neighbours.

" XXXVII. We never retaliate, though our numbers would warrant our successfully doing so, either in open battle or by simply withdrawing from your midst.

" XXXVIII. There is nothing dangerous to the peace of the state in our assemblies. We ought, therefore, to be admitted amongst the legally recognized associations.

III. Refutation of incidental points of objection to the Christians.

CHAPTER XXXIX. Our daily habits of life are simple and beneficent; our assemblies quiet and devotional.

" XL. The outcry which lays every public calamity at our door is preposterous. It is our prayers which mitigate the severity of the punishments you deserve to suffer.

" XLI. Your idolatry is the cause of your disasters. Our troubles are for our admonition, yours for your chastisement.

" XLII. We are charged with being commercially profitless. This is ridiculous, for we are human beings with the same wants as yourselves. True, we cannot afford to give to your gods as well as to the poor.

" XLIII. Nor do we support those whose trades are infamous and disgraceful. This, however, is a great gain.

" XLIV. The real loss to the state, which you overlook, is the condemnation of so many good and innocent men. Christians are guilty of nothing but their religion: they are not found in your criminal lists.

" XLV. The Christian religion supplies a motive force

to the sanctions of morality which your laws necessarily lack.

CHAPTER XLVI. We have answered all the charges against us, and established the truth and beneficence of our religion. Incredulity, however, still denies the divinity of our faith, and charges it with being merely a school of philosophy. If it be so, why are we not treated with the same leniency as the philosophers? Philosophers, though guilty, are acquitted on both counts—sacrilege and disloyalty; why is not the same privilege extended to us? As a matter of fact we differ from the philosophers both in knowledge and morals.

" XLVII. Philosophers have borrowed ideas from the scriptures, which are older than all systems of philosophy, and have distorted them, as heretics have corrupted the Truth delivered by Christ.

" XLVIII. We are derided and tortured for teaching the resurrection of the body; yet the philosophic argument for the transmigration of souls is equally valid for *our* contention, which is also justified by many analogies in nature. We ourselves shall rise again, clothed upon with the proper substance of eternity, but the wicked will endure the punishment of eternal fire.

" XLIX. You applaud these opinions as philosophical speculations, but as articles of Christian belief you deride them. Yet they are of practical utility, and, even if mistaken, are innocent and do not merit punishment. Besides, this very power of inflicting punishment upon us you enjoy solely at our own will and pleasure.

" L. We are willing to suffer because even in our death we win a victory for the Truth. Witnessed in *others* inflexible resolve and courage gain your applause, in *us* your hatred.

Proceed, then, in your unjust cruelty: our steadfastness under persecution attracts new converts. Condemned by you, we stand acquitted by God.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

| A.D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 14. | | Accession of TIBERIUS. |
| 37. | | Accession of CAIUS CALIGULA. |
| 41. | | Accession of CLAUDIUS. |
| 54. | | Accession of NERO. |
| 58. | | Acquittal of Pomponia Graecina. |
| 64. | July 19. | Great Fire of Rome. |
| | | 'First Persecution' [*Apol.* 5]. |
| 68. | April 3. | GALBA proclaimed Emperor in Spain. |
| | June 9. | Suicide of Nero at Phaeon's villa in the suburbs of Rome. |
| 69. | Jan. 1. | Military Revolution in Germany: VITELLIUS proclaimed Emperor by the soldiery. |
| | " 10. | PISO associated in the Empire by Galba. |
| | " 15. | Conspiracy of OTHO: assassination of Galba and Piso. |
| | Mar. | Defeat of Otho by Vitellius at Bedriacum. |
| | April 17. | Suicide of Otho at Brixellum. |
| | July 1. | VESPASIAN proclaimed Emperor in Syria and Aegypt. |
| | | Defeat of Vitellius at Bedriacum. |
| | Dec. 24. | Execution of Vitellius at Rome. |
| 70. | | Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. |
| 79. | June 24. | Death of Vespasian: TITUS Emperor. |
| 81. | Sept. 13. | Death of Titus: DOMITIAN Emperor. |
| 95. | | 'Second Persecution' [*Apol.* 5]: execution of Flavius Clemens and banishment of Domitilla. |
| 96. | Sept. 18. | Assassination of Domitian by Stephanus and others: NERVA Emperor. |
| 98. | | Death of Nerva: TRAJAN Emperor. |
| 100. | | Death of S. John the Apostle at Ephesus. |
| 112. | | Correspondence of Plinius Secundus, propraetor of Bithynia, with Trajan, respecting the Christians [*Apol.* 2, 5]. |
| 117. | Aug. 11. | Death of Trajan at Selinus in Cilicia. |
| | | HADRIAN proclaimed Emperor. |
| 121. | | Hadrian in Britain. |
| 124. | | Hadrian's letter to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia. |
| 133. | | Revolt of the Jews under Barchochebas. |
| 136. | | Jerusalem razed and rebuilt as Aelia Capitolina. |

| A. D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 138. | July 2. | Death of Hadrian at Baiae: ANTONINUS PIUS Emperor. |
| 155. | | Martyrdom of S. Polycarp. |
| c160. | | Birth of Tertullian at Carthage. |
| | | Rise of Montanism. |
| 161. | Mar. 7. | Death of Antoninus Pius at Lorium: MARCUS AURELIUS and LUCIUS VERUS Augusti. |
| 169. | Dec. | Death of Verus at Altinum near Venice. Return of Aurelius to Rome. |
| 170. | | Aurelius leaves Rome for renewal of German war. |
| 174. | | Victory over the Quadi. 'Miracle' of the 'Thundering Legion' [*Apol.* 5]. |
| | | Return of Aurelius to Italy. |
| 175. | | Rebellion of Avidius Cassius in Syria. Aurelius sets out for the East. |
| 176. | | Return of Aurelius to Rome. |
| 177. | | Persecution in Gallica Celtica: Martyrs of Lyon and Vienne. |
| | | COMMODUS made Augustus. |
| 178. | | Expedition of Aurelius and Commodus against the Marcomanni. |
| 180. | Mar. 17. | Death of Marcus Aurelius at Vendobona in Pannonia [Sirmium, *Apol.* 25]. |
| | July 4. | First African Martyrdoms; Namphamo (*archimartyr*) and others (Medaurian martyrs), under Saturninus the proconsul at Carthage. |
| | ,, 17. | The Scillitan martyrdoms at Carthage under Saturninus. |
| | | Return of Commodus to Rome: cessation of persecutions. |
| c186. | | Martyrdom of Apollonius. |
| 189. | | Popular sedition and attack upon the suburban palace: death of Cleander [*Apol.* 35]. |
| 192. | Dec. 31. | Assassination of Commodus [*Apol.* 35]: election of Pertinax. |
| 193. | Jan. 1. | PERTINAX Augustus. |
| | Mar. 28. | Murder of Pertinax by the Praetorians. |
| | | Purchase of the Imperial Dignity by DIDIUS JULIANUS. |
| | | Revolt of Pannonian, Syrian, and British legions. |
| | April 13. | SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, proclaimed Augustus in Pannonia, marches on Rome. |
| | | Pescennius Niger proclaimed Augustus in the East [*Apol.* 35]. |
| | | Clodius Albinus proclaimed Augustus in Britain [*Apol.* 35].

| A. D. | | |
|---|---|---|
| 193. | June 2. | Execution of Julianus at Rome. |
| | | Albinus acknowledged as Caesar by Severus. |
| | | Victories of Severus over Niger at Cyzicus, Nicaea, and near the Issus. |
| 194. | | Capture and beheadal of Niger at Antioch. Siege of Byzantium. |
| 195. | | Severus in Arabia and Mesopotamia. Treaty with Abgarus, King of Edessa. |
| 196. | | Surrender of Byzantium. |
| | | Assumption of title of Augustus by Albinus, who crosses into Gaul. |
| 197. | Feb. 19. | Defeat of Albinus near Lyon. Return of Severus to Rome. Severe punishment of adherents of Albinus. |
| | | Expedition against the Parthians. |
| | | Tertullian writes the APOLOGY. |
| 198. | | CARACALLA Augustus. |
| | | GETA Caesar. |
| 200. | | Severus in Syria and Aegypt. Investigation of remnants of Niger's faction. |
| 201. | | Tertullian becomes a Montanist. |
| 202. | | Edict of Severus forbidding Jews and Christians to proselytize. |
| | | Martyrdoms of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas at Carthage under Hilarian the procurator. |
| 203. | | Return of Severus to Rome. |
| 208. | | GETA Augustus. |
| | | Severus with his two sons in Britain: Caledonian war. |
| 211. | Feb. 4. | Death of Severus at York: return of Caracalla and Geta to Rome. |
| 212. | Feb. | Murder of Geta by Caracalla. |
| | | Tertullian addresses Scapula. |
| 217. | April 8. | Assassination of Caracalla near Carrhae. |

# APOLOGETICUS ADVERSUS GENTES PRO CHRISTIANIS.

# TERTULLIANI

## APOLOGETICUS

## ADVERSUS GENTES PRO CHRISTIANIS.

### CAPUT I.

Si non licet vobis, Romani imperii antistites, in aperto et edito ipso fere vertice civitatis praesidentibus ad judicandum, palam dispicere et coram examinare quid sit liquido in caussa Christianorum; si ad hanc solam speciem auctoritas vestra de justitiae diligentia in publico aut timet aut erubescit inquirere; si denique, quod proxime accidit, domesticis judiciis nimis operata sectae hujus infestatio obstruit viam defensioni, liceat veritati vel occulta via tacitarum litterarum ad aures vestras pervenire. Nihil illa de caussa sua deprecatur, quia nec de condicione miratur. Scit se peregrinam

5. **Romani imperii antistites.** The Proconsul and governors of Africa. They are termed 'praesides,' ch. 2, 9, 30, 50: see note, Introduction, page xviii.

10. **domesticis judiciis.** Tertullian refers to some case of recent occurrence and notoriety in Carthage, where severity had been exercised towards certain members of the hated sect within the circle of the magistrates' own households. The case of the Christians was thus already 'prejudiced' in the minds of the judges who, by their private actions, had incapacitated themselves from officially giving an impartial hearing to its defence.

13. **Nihil . . . deprecatur**: *deprecari* is a legal term, technically signifying 'to plead with a judge in excuse of a criminal.' 'She pleads no excuse in her cause.' So Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 3 demands merely bare justice.

14. **quia nec miratur**: 'for neither does she marvel at her present position.' Christians had been prepared for the world's hatred by the words of their Master, S. Matt. x. 22; S. John xv. 18. The antagonism between the world and the Church was an inevitable outcome of the unique claims of Christianity to be supreme as a universal and a

in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire, ceterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in caelis habere. Unum gestit interdum, ne ignorata damnetur. Quid hinc deperit legibus in suo regno dominantibus, si audiatur? Ad hoc magis gloriabitur potestas earum, quod etiam auditam damnabunt veritatem? Ceterum, inauditam si damnent, praeter invidiam iniquitatis etiam suspicionem merebuntur alicujus conscientiae, nolentes audire, quod auditum damnare non possint.

Hanc itaque primam caussam apud vos collocamus, iniquitatem odii erga nomen Christianorum. Quam iniquitatem idem titulus et onerat et revincit, qui videtur excusare, ignorantia

spiritual faith. The Christian Creed admitted of no compromise either with the Capitol or with the Academy, and it was equally impossible for it to connive at the corrupt and dissolute morals of the age (ch. 38). As a direct assailant of the state religion and popular superstition Christianity came into collision with the law; as inculcating a higher morality it provoked the animosity of numerous professions and trades which ministered to the popular tastes and demands (ch. 42). Comp. ch. 24, 'Nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate,' and note.

1. **peregrinam in terris agere.** Heb. xi. 13, 'confitentes, quia peregrini et hospites sunt super terram'; 1 S. Pet. ii. 11, 'obsecro vos tanquam advenas et peregrinos . . .'

4. **Quid hinc deperit legibus.** 'What injury can the laws suffer from it, which are supreme in their own sphere, if she be heard'? *Deperit* bears the sense of suffering loss or diminution in Lucret. ii. 296, where it is used antithetically to *adaugescit.*

7. **praeter invidiam iniquitatis**: 'besides incurring the odium of an injustice done, they will be suspected, and justly, of not being altogether unconscious that they are refusing to hear that which, if they heard, they could not condemn.'

10. **Hanc itaque primam caussam.** Tertullian first exposes the blind hatred and injustice which condemned the Christians unheard: this occupies the first three chapters; in the fourth and fifth he examines the nature of the laws put in force against them.

12. **titulus**: 'pretext,' 'excuse': comp. the same line of argument *ad Nat.* i. 1. *Titulus* generally bears the sense of *elogium* in Tertullian, see ch. 6, 39, 42, 44 (and note), 49. In ch. 48 it is equivalent to *inscriptio,* 'de titulo Pythiae,' as in Plin. *Epp.* vii. 29; similarly ch. 50, 'titulos inciditis'; but ch. 10, 'titles' (*titulos persequi*).

**et onerat et revincit**: 'both aggravates and clenches.'

scilicet. Quid enim iniquius, quam ut oderint homines, quod ignorant etiamsi res mereretur odium? Tunc etenim meretur, cum cognoscitur, an mereatur. Vacante autem meriti notitia, unde odii justitia defenditur quae non de eventu, sed de conscientia probanda est? Cum ergo propterea oderint homines, quia ignorant, quale sit quod oderunt, cur non liceat ejusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse? Ita utrumque ex alterutro redarguimus, et ignorare illos, dum oderunt, et injuste odisse, dum ignorant. Testimonium ignorantiae est, quae iniquitatem, dum excusat, condemnat; cum omnes, qui retro oderant, quia ignorabant quale esset quod oderant, simul ut desinunt ignorare, cessent et odisse. Ex his fiunt Christiani, utique de comperto et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant, et profiteri quod oderant; et sunt tanti, quanti et denotamur. Obsessam vociferantur civitatem, in agris, in castellis, in insulis Christianos; omnem sexum, aetatem,

3. **Vacante autem.** 'If a knowledge of the deserts be wanting,' 'non-existent.' Tertullian frequently uses *vacare* in this sense: ch. 11, 'vacat ex hoc parte caussa,' 'a reason is wanting from this point of view'; ch. 18, 'ne notitia vacaret,' 'lest a right apprehension should be wanting.'

4. **non de eventu, sed de conscientia**: 'not from the mere fact of the existence of the hatred, but from cognizance of the merits of the case.'

9. **Testimonium ignorantiae est.** 'A proof of their ignorance . . . is found in the fact that all, who formerly hated because they were ignorant of the nature of what they hated, cease to hate as soon as they cease to be ignorant.'

14. **et sunt tanti, quanti**: 'and their numbers are as great as we are computed to be.' Tertullian frequently uses *tanti . . . quanti* for *tot . . . quot*: *e. g.* ch. 50, 'Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo.'

15. **Obsessam**: 'encompassed,' 'beset,' 'as a camp surprised by night.' (Newman *Paroch. Serm.* ii. 237): a frequent use of military terms will be noticed in Tertullian's writings, traceable doubtless to his father's profession.

16. **castellis**: 'villages': *castellum* is the regular rendering of *κώμη* in the Vulgate. *κώμη* occurs 27 times in the N.T. and in 22 passages it is translated in the Vulgate by *castellum*.

**omnem sexum, aetatem, condicionem.** With this statement other passages of Tertullian should be compared: ch. 37, 'Hesterni

condicionem, etiam dignitatem transgredi ad hoc nomen quasi detrimento moerent. Nec tamen hoc ipso modo ad aestimationem alicujus latentis boni promovent animos; non licet rectius suspicari, non libet propius experiri. Hic tantum humana curiositas torpescit, amant ignorare, cum

sumus,' *etc.; ad Scap.* 2, 'tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque'; *ib.* 5, 'quid facies de tantis millibus hominum tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis aetatis, omnis dignitatis?' comp. *de fuga in pers.* 12; *de coron.* 12; *adv. Jud.* 7, 12; *ad Nat.* i. 8; *adv. Marc.* iii. 20. However rhetorical such passages may be deemed they contain little, if any, exaggeration, since Pliny could write of the Christians in A.D. 112, 'Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est' (*Ep. ad Traj.* x. 96); comp. Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44, 'Repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.' Justin Mart. (*dial. c. Try.* 117), Irenaeus (*Haer.* i. 10. 1, 2; iii. 4. 2; v. 20. 1), Clem.-Alex. (*Strom.* vi. *ult.*), and Origen (*contr. Cels.* i. 7, 27; ii. 13, 46; iii. 10, 24, 29, 30; *de princ.* iv. 1. 1, 2) bear the same testimony to the wide diffusion of Christianity within the first two centuries. Cp. *Ep. ad Diognet.* 6; Eusebius *H. E.* ii. 3; iv. 7; viii. 1, 8; ix. 9; x. 4; Ruffinus *H. E.* ix. 6.

1. **etiam dignitatem.** The *omnis ordinis* of Pliny would certainly include some persons of high rank among those belonging to the Christian body. Tertullian perhaps furnishes a case in point at the beginning of this chapter; and further, *ad Scap.* 4, mentions the indulgent attitude of Severus towards several very illustrious Christian converts of both sexes: 'sed et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos viros Severus, sciens hujus sectae esse, non modo non laesit, verum et testimonio exornavit, et populo furenti in nos palam restitit.' Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 21), writing of the reign of Commodus, A.D. 180–192, asserts that many at Rome eminent for wealth and birth were led to embrace the Christian faith, and proceeds to instance the martyrdom of Apollonius, a Roman senator. Yet earlier, in Domitian's time (A.D. 81–96) members of the imperial family itself suffered for their profession of Christianity,—Flavius Clemens, the emperor's first cousin and colleague in the consulship A.D. 95, being put to death and his wife, Domitilla, banished to the island Pandateria (Sueton. *Dom.* 15–18; Dion Cass. lxvii. 14; Euseb. iii. 18); and a still earlier instance of a convert of distinction is most probably to be found in Pomponia Graecina, the wife of Plautus the conqueror of Britain, *insignis femina superstitionis externa rea,* (A.D. 58), Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 32; see Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vi. 438 ff.

alii gaudeant cognovisse. Quanto magis hos Anacharsis denotasset imprudentes de prudentibus judicantes, quam immusicos de musicis! Malunt nescire, quia jam oderunt; adeo quod nesciunt, praejudicant id esse, quod, si sciant, odisse non poterant; quando si nullum odii debitum deprehendatur, optimum utique sit desinere injuste odisse; si vero de merito constet, non modo nihil odii detrahatur, sed amplius acquiratur ad perseverantiam, etiam justitiae ipsius auctoritate.

Sed non ideo, inquit, bonum, quia multos convertit. Quanti enim ad malum praeformantur, quanti transfugae in perversum? Quis negat? Tamen quod vere malum est, ne ipsi quidem, quos rapit, defendere pro bono audent. Omne malum aut timore aut pudore natura perfudit. Denique malefici gestiunt latere, devitant apparere, trepidant deprehensi, negant accusati, ne torti quidem facile aut semper confitentur; certe condemnati maerent; dinumerant in

1. **Anacharsis.** Diogenes Laert. i. 103, *θαυμάζειν δὲ ἔφη πῶς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγωνίζονται μὲν οἱ τεχνῖται καὶ κρίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὴ τεχνῖται.*

2. **imprudentes de prudentibus judicantes**: 'amateurs criticizing professionals.'

3. **Malunt nescire.** 'They prefer to be ignorant because they already hate; and thus that which they know not they prejudge to be such as, if they did know, they could not hate.'

5. **si nullum odii debitum,** 'if no just ground of hatred be found'; if there is nothing to justify the general hatred which Christianity excites.

10. **Sed non ideo, inquit.** 'But, it may be said, a thing is not therefore good because it attracts the many. See how many are previously disposed to evil, how many desert to the side of error!'

13. **Omne malum aut timore.** 'There is a sense of shrinking or shame instinctively attached to every evil.'

14. **perfudit,** lit. 'Nature hath steeped,' 'flooded,' 'bathed'; a poetic and late prose use: so again ch. 40.

17. **dinumerant in semetipsos.** The expression seems to imply introspection unaccompanied by remorse. *Dinumerare* = 'to reckon up,' sc. *acta sua*, with a sense here of animadversion. 'In their consciences they recount their deeds, but impute to fate . . .' Comp. the parallel passage *ad Nat.* i. 1, 'exprobrant etenim quod erant in semetipsos: malae mentis ab innocentia transitum vel fato imputant; adeo nolunt suum esse, quia malum negare non possunt.'

semetipsos, mentis malae impetus vel fato vel astris imputant; nolunt enim súuum esse, quod malum agnoscunt. Christianos vero, nihil simile; neminem pudet, neminem paenitet, nisi plane retro non fuisse. Si denotatur, gloriatur; accusatur; non defendit; interrogatus vel ultro confitetur; damnatus gratias agit. Quid hoc mali est quod naturalia mali non habet, timorem, pudorem, tergiversa-

1. **vel fato.** Comp. *de Anim.* 20, 'Secundum nos quidem Dominus Deus, et diabolus aemulus; secundum communem autem opinionem et Providentia et Fatum, et Necessitas, et Arbitrii Libertas,' *etc.* Fatalism was the special characteristic of the Stoic philosophy, and continually recurs in Seneca's writings (*e.g.* his celebrated dictum 'Fata nos ducunt'; *Epist.* 93, 'objurgamus quotidie fatum'; *de Provid.* 5), and in the 'Meditations' of Marcus Aurelius (*e.g.*, iv. 34, v. 8; xii. 1); comp. Lucian. *Dial.* 25; Homer. *Odyss.* i. 32.

**vel astris.** Comp. *de Idol.* 9, 'De astrologis . . . praesumentes stellarum nos immutabili arbitrio agi,' *etc.* The belief of all classes in astrology is attested by the Roman historians and satirists, and although the professors of the art (*mathematici*) were generally under the ban of exile, they continued to infest the city; Tacit. *Hist.* i. 22, 'urgentibus mathematicis . . . genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper, et retinebitur.' Tiberius (Sueton. *Tib.* 36), and Vitellius (*id. Vit.* 14) attempted, but ineffectually, to prohibit the art. Val. Max. i. 4; Juvenal *Sat.* vi. 553 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* i. 11. 2; ii. 17. 17; and below ch. 43. On horoscopes, referred to in ch. 35, see note there. The Carthaginians were peculiarly addicted to superstitions and magical arts; comp. S. August. *Conf.* iv. 3; Merivale *Hist. Rom.* v. 253.

2. **nolunt enim suum esse**: 'for they refuse to acknowledge as their own what they recognise as evil.'

3. **Christianos vero, nihil simile.** 'But with Christians the case is totally different.' Comp. *ad Nat.* i. 1.

4. **Si denotatur.** 'If he is stigmatized, branded with infamy, as a Christian'; alluding to the *nota censoria* or mark of censure entered by the censor against the name of any citizen of suspicious character.

5. **interrogatus vel ultro confitetur.** Comp. Pliny's Epist. to Trajan (x. 96), 'Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani; confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus; perseverantes duci jussi.'

6. **damnatus gratias agit.** Comp. ch. 46, 50; *ad Scap.* 1, 'magisque damnati quam absoluti gaudemus.' The sentence to martyrdom was frequently received with the exclamation, 'Deo gratias!' *e.g. Acta procons. S. Cypr.* 4.

**quod naturalia mali non habet**: 'which lacks the innate characteristics of evil.'

tionem, paenitentiam, deplorationem? Quid hoc mali est, cujus reus gaudet? cujus accusatio votum est, et poena felicitas? Non potes dementiam dicere, qui revinceris ignorare.

## CAPUT II.

Si certum est denique nos nocentissimos esse, cur a vobis ipsis aliter tractamur, quam pares nostri, id est ceteri nocentes? cum ejusdem noxae eadem tractatio deberet intervenire. Quodcumque dicimur, cum alii dicuntur, et proprio ore et mercenaria advocatione utuntur ad innocentiae suae commendationem. Respondendi, altercandi facultas patet, quando nec liceat indefensos et inauditos omnino damnari. Sed Christianis solis nihil permittitur loqui, quod caussam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod judicem non faciat injustum. Sed illud solum exspectatur quod odio publico necessarium est, confessio nominis,

2. **cujus reus gaudet.** 'What kind of evil is this, of which the criminal is proud, to be accused of which is his prayer, and to be punished for it his happiness?'

3. **dementiam dicere.** The persistent refusal of the Christians to outwardly conform to the ritual observances required from them by the pagan authorities was incomprehensible to the judges, and was regarded by them as evidence of criminal obstinacy or madness; so Pliny to Trajan, 'Neque enim dubitavi, qualecunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae,' *etc.* Comp. below ch. 27, 'Sed quidam dementiam existimant . . .'; Martial. *Epigram.* x. 25, whose notice of the fortitude of those who refused to sacrifice with the stake and pitched shirt before them, is referred to the persecution under Trajan by Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vi. 446.

10. **altercandi.** *Altercatio* is the technical word of the law-courts for 'cross-examination,' 'rejoinder,' or 'repartee'; cp. Quintil. *Inst. orat.* vi. 5, 'neque alia dicuntur in altercatione sed aliter aut interrogando aut respondendo'; Cicero *Brut.* 43, '[Crassus] jam in altercando invenit parem neminem: versatus est in omni fere genere caussarum'; *ib.* 44.

13. **quod caussam purget.** The forensic use of *purgare*, 'to clear from accusation,' 'exculpate'; and so below, ch. 4, 'qui habeo quo purger.' With this passage comp. the principle of Roman judicial procedure as laid down by Festus, Acts xxv. 16.

non examinatio criminis: quando si de aliquo nocente cognoscitis, non statim confesso eo nomen homicidae, vel sacrilegi, vel incesti, vel publici hostis (ut de nostris elogiis loquar) contenti sitis ad pronuntiandum, nisi et consequentia exigatis, qualitatem facti, numerum, locum, modum, tempus, conscios, socios. De nobis nihil tale, cum aeque extorqueri oporteret, quodcunque falso jactatur, quot quisque jam infanticidia degustasset, quot incesta contenebrasset, qui coci, qui canes affuissent. O quanta illius praesidis gloria, si eruisset aliquem, qui centum jam infantes comedisset! Atquin invenimus inquisitionem quoque in nos prohibitam. Plinius enim Secundus cum provinciam regeret, damnatis quibusdam Christianis, quibusdam gradu pulsis, ipsa tamen multitudine perturbatus, quid de cetero ageret, consuluit tunc Trajanum imperatorem, allegans praeter

1. quando si . . . cognoscitis. *Cognoscere* here bears its technical meaning of 'examining judicially into a criminal case before a tribunal.'

2. homicidae, vel sacrilegi, *etc.* Each of these criminal charges (*elogia, tituli*, see next note) was fastened upon the Christians by their enemies: comp. below, 'Christianum hominem omnium scelerum reum,' *etc.*

3. ut de nostris elogiis loquar. *Elogium* in legal phraseology is 'the judicial statement' or 'abstract of the criminal charge': so *mittere aliquem cum elogio*, = 'to send a person before the magistrates on a warrant specifying his offence.' Comp. *ad Scap.* 4, 'Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum in elogio concussione ejus intellecta dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem, secundum mandatum.' See also below ch. 24, 'irreligiositatis elogium,' 'the criminal charge of irreligion'; ch. 44, 'qui sententiis elogia dispungitis': comp. Sueton. *Calig.* 27, 'custodiarum seriem recognoscens, nullius inspecto elogio, stans tantummodo intra porticum mediam, a calvo ad calvum duci imperavit.'

4. ad pronuntiandum: absol. 'to pronounce the verdict': as Cicero *de Off.* iii. 16. 66, 'judex ita pronuntiavit.'

8. infanticidia degustasset: see ch. 7.

13. quibusdam gradu pulsis: 'and some degraded'; referring to those who held high rank or office; see note ch. 1.

14. quid de cetero ageret: 'how he should act in the future.'

15. consuluit Trajanum. Plin. *Epp.* x. 96: see the letter printed in the Appendix with Trajan's reply; and the remarks in the Introduction, page xiv.

obstinationem non sacrificandi, nihil aliud se de sacramentis eorum comperisse, quam coetus antelucanos ad canendum Christo ut Deo et ad confoederandam disciplinam, homicidium, adulterium, fraudem, perfidiam, et cetera scelera prohibentes. Tunc Trajanus rescripsit, hoc genus inquirendos quidem non esse, oblatos vero puniri oportere. O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes, et mandat puniendos ut nocentes. Parcit et saevit, dissimulat et animadvertit. Quid temetipsum cen-

1. **allegans praeter obstinationem . . . nihil aliud.** On this important testimony of an impartial heathen to the pure lives of the early Christians see Merivale *Hist. Rom.* viii. 147, 'So ancient and genuine a testimony to the virtue of the first believers . . . is justly regarded as one of the proudest monuments of our faith. The letter of Pliny, it has been well said, is the first *Apology for Christianity.*' Comp. note ch. 9.

**de sacramentis** : 'religious ordinances'; see note on *sacramentum*, ch. 7.

2. **coetus antelucanos.** The Holy Eucharist was celebrated at these early morning assemblies, as we learn from an interesting passage *de Coron.* 3, 'Eucharistiae sacramentum, et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis coetibus, nec de aliorum manu quam Praesidentium sumimus,' *etc.*

**ad canendum Christo** : comp. *ad Uxor.* ii. 9; *exhort. ad Cast.* 10; Euseb. v. 28. (quoted in next note); and on early Christian hymnody see Bingham xiv. 1, and *Dict. Chr. Ant.* s. v. HYMNS.

3. **Christo ut Deo.** This is the true reading, not '*et Deo,*' as some mss. and edd. Pliny's expression *quasi deo,* in the passage of which this is a paraphrase, clearly determines the sense in which he understood the Christian worship. A passage in an ancient writer, probably Hippolytus or Caius (*apud* Euseb. v. 28), is equally clear in showing that the early Christian hymns celebrated the Deity of Christ: ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσαι τὸν Λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν ὑμνοῦσι θεολογοῦντες. Comp. Origen *contr. Cels.* viii. 67; Socr. *H. E.* vi. 8.

5. **rescripsit.** On the technical use of this word see note ch. 4. Tertullian's criticism here of Trajan's ruling is strictly a piece of forensic pleading: he leaves out of sight the fact that the profession of Christianity was a criminal offence previous to the emperor's rescript. In reality Trajan's action was a moderate and statesmanlike policy of repression without persecution of what he probably considered was a dangerous political association. In ch. 5 Tertullian himself claims it as a sort of check upon the officious enforcement of the earlier laws.

6. **oblatos** : 'if brought up before the magistrates': *offerri* has this sense below, and *oblatio* is the corresponding substantive.

sura circumvenis? si damnas, cur non et inquiris? si non inquiris, cur non et absolvis? Latronibus vestigandis per universas provincias militaris statio sortitur; in reos majestatis et publicos hostes omnis homo miles est, ad socios, ad conscios usque inquisitio extenditur. Solum Christianum inquiri non licet, offerri licet, quasi aliud esset actura inquisitio, quam oblationem. Damnatis ergo oblatum; quem nemo voluit requisitum, qui, puto, jam non ideo meruit poenam, quia nocens est, sed quia, non requirendus, inventus est.

Itaque nec in illo ex forma malorum judicandorum agitis erga nos, quod ceteris negantibus adhibetis tormenta ad confitendum, solis Christianis ad negandum; cum, si malum esset, nos quidem negaremus, vos vero confiteri tormentis compelleretis. Neque enim ideo putaretis non requirenda quaestionibus scelera, quia certi essetis admitti ea ex nominis confessione, qui hodie de confesso homicida, scientes homicidium quid sit, nihilominus ordinem extorquetis admissi: quo perversius, cum praesumatis de sceleribus nostris ex nominis confessione cogitis tormentis de confessione decedere, ut negantes nomen pariter utique negemus et scelera, de quibus ex confessione nominis praesumpseratis. Sed, opinor, non vultis nos perire, quos pessimos creditis. Sic enim soletis dicere homicidae: Nega; laniari jubere sacrilegum, si confiteri perseveraverit. Si non ita agitis

3. **sortitur**: passively, 'is appointed by lot.' Sueton. *Oct.* 32, 'grassatores, dispositis per opportuna loca stationibus, inhibuit.'

5. **inquisitio.** This word and its kindred verb are used in their technical legal sense of 'seeking for proof in support of an accusation.'

6. **quasi aliud esset actura**: 'just as if the enquiry had any other purpose in view than the production of the criminal before the magistrates!'

8. **qui, puto, jam non ideo meruit**: 'a man, I take it, who did not at first deserve punishment because he was guilty, but because, being forbidden to be sought out, he was found.'

10. **nec in illo ex forma**: 'neither in this do you deal with us according to your proper procedure in judging criminals.'

14. **Neque enim ideo putaretis.** 'Nor could you pretend that an investigation of Christian criminality might be dispensed with on the ground that the mere profession of Christianity would prove it; for to

circa nocentes, ergo nos innocentissimos judicatis, cum quasi innocentissimos non vultis in ea confessione perseverare, quam necessitate, non justitia damnandam a vobis sciatis.

Vociferatur homo: Christianus sum. Quod est dicit; tu vis audire quod non est. Veritatis extorquendae praesides, de nobis solis mendacium elaboratis audire. Hoc sum, inquit, quod quaeris, an sim; quid me torques in perversum? confiteor, et torques; quid faceres, si negarem? Plane aliis negantibus non facile fidem accommodatis; nobis, si negaverimus, statim creditis. Suspecta sit vobis ista perversitas, ne qua vis lateat in occulto, quae vos adversus formam, adversus naturam judicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges ministret. Nisi enim fallor, leges malos erui jubent, non abscondi; confessos damnari praescribunt, non absolvi. Hoc senatus consulta, hoc principum mandata definiunt, hoc imperium, cujus ministri estis. Civilis, non tyrannica dominatio [vestra] est. Apud tyrannos enim tormenta etiam pro poena adhibentur; apud vos soli quaestioni temperantur. Vestram illis servate legem usque ad confessionem; et si confessione prae-

this day, although cognizant of what constitutes murder, you nevertheless from a confessed murderer elicit the circumstances attendant upon the committal of the act.'

1. **circa**: 'in respect to,' 'in the case of'; a late prose use of *circa* very frequent in Tertullian and often employed by Quintilian, *e.g.* i. 1, 21; 5, 34; ii. 5, 26; vi. 3, 19.

4. **Quod est dicit.** 'He tells you what he is': comp. the words of S. Perpetua, *Acta SS. Perp. et Felic.* i. 2, 'Ego aliud me dicere non possum, nisi quod sum Christiana'; *Acta procons. S. Cypr.* 1, 'Christianus sum et episcopus'; *etc.*

10. **Suspecta sit vobis.** 'Let this crooked dealing of yours lead you to suspect the possibility of there being some secret hidden power'; alluding to the daemoniacal agency which, in Tertullian's view, inspired the enemies of Christianity; see below, 'quaedam aemulae operationis,' and ch. 22, 23, 27.

11. **quae vos . . . ministret**: = *quae . . . vestro ministerio utatur*.

18. **apud vos . . . temperantur**: 'with you the use of torture is moderated and confined to the purposes of examination only.' See Cicero *pro Mil.* 57, 'Quid opus est tortore? quid quaeris? occideritne? occidit. Jure an injuria? nihil ad tortorem. Facti enim equuleo quaestio est, juris in judicio': comp. Liv. i. 18; Sallust *Catil.* 11.

veniantur, vacabunt. Sententia opus est; debito poenae nocens expungendus est, non eximendus. Denique illum nemo gestit absolvere, non licet hoc velle; ideo nec cogitur quisquam negare. Christianum, hominem omnium scelerum reum deorum, imperatorum, legum, morum, naturae totius inimicum existimas, et cogis negare, ut absolvas, quem non poteris absolvere, nisi negaverit. Praevaricaris in leges. Vis ergo neget se nocentem, ut eum facias innocentem, et quidem invitum jam, nec de praeterito reum. Unde ista perversitas? ut etiam illud non recogitetis, sponte confesso magis credendum esse, quam per vim neganti; vel ne compulsus negare, non ex fide negarit; et absolutus ibidem post tribunal de vestra rideat aemulatione, iterum Christianus.

1. **debito poenae nocens expungendus est**: 'the culprit must be discharged from the obligation of the penalty by undergoing it, and must not be released from it.' The use of *expungendus* in this connexion is to be explained by the custom of the officer who superintended the punishment of criminals erasing the entry of their names and penalties as soon as each had discharged his appointed sentence. Comp. the use of *dispungere*, ch. 44. Elsewhere in the Apology *expungere*, = 'to accomplish,' 'perform'; *e.g.* ch. 15, 'libidinem expungi'; ch. 21, '[adventus primus] qui jam expunctus est'; ch. 35, 'vota Caesarum expungimus.'

4. **Christianum . . . deorum . . . inimicum.** Tertullian compendiously sums up the charges brought against the Christians. They were deemed guilty of sacrilege (*deorum inimici*), of treason (*imperatorum*), of forming a faction and being an unauthorised religious sect (*legum*), of hideous immorality, of outraging natural instincts, of being public enemies, and morose, and hostile to ordinary trade and commerce (*morum, naturae totius*). Similarly in Nero's reign they had been convicted on the ground of *odium humani generis*; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44. Comp. below ch. 37, 'hostes generis humani.'

5. **naturae totius inimicum.** Comp. the words of Aemilianus the prefect to Dionysius (*apud* Euseb. vii. 11), *δεδώκασι γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ὑμῖν εἰ βούλοισθε ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι . . . ἐπιλαλέσθαι τε τῶν παρὰ φύσιν.*

6. **et cogis negare**: *et* implying surprise, 'and yet'; so ch. 37, 'Hesterni sumus et . . .'

7. **Praevaricaris**: *praevaricare* is the technical word for 'collusory action.' Tertullian sarcastically asserts that by their anti-legal mode of conducting the trials of the Christians the magistrates appeared to be in collusion with the criminals.

11. **vel ne compulsus negare**: 'or consider whether, when compelled to deny, he may not deny untruly (*non ex fide*), and when acquitted ...'

Cum igitur in omnibus nos aliter disponatis, quam ceteros nocentes, id unum contendendo, ut de eo nomine excludamur (excludimur enim, si facimus, quae faciunt non Christiani), intelligere potestis non scelus aliquod in caussa esse, sed nomen, quod quaedam ratio aemulae operationis insequitur, hoc primum agens, ut homines nolint scire pro certo, quod se nescire pro certo sciunt. Ideo et credunt de nobis quae non probantur, et nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse, quae malunt credi esse, ut nomen illius aemulae rationis inimicum, praesumptis, non probatis criminibus, de sua sola confessione damnetur. Ideo torquemur confitentes, et punimur perseverantes, et absolvimur negantes, quia nominis proelium est. Denique quid de tabella recitatis illum Christianum, cur non et homicidam? Si homicida Christianus, cur non incestus? vel quodcunque aliud nos esse creditis? In nobis solis pudet aut piget ipsis nominibus scelerum pronuntiare? Christianus si nullius criminis reus est, nomen valde infestum, si solius nominis crimen est.

## CAPUT III.

QUID? quod ita plerique clausis oculis in odium ejus impingunt, ut bonum alicui testimonium ferentes admisceant nominis exprobrationem: Bonus vir Caïus Seius, tantum quod

5. **quaedam ratio aemulae operationis**: 'some system of malevolent agency'; equivalent to *qua vis latens in occulto*, above. *Aemulus* is here taken in a bad sense; the daemoniacal agency is the rival of God, and therefore hostile to His worshippers. The expression and the idea will frequently recur; see ch. 21, 27, 47; *adv. Prax.* 1, 'varie diabolus aemulatus est veritatem'; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* ii. 1.

9. **nomen illius . . . inimicum**: 'the name which is hostile to that rival system'; comp. *ad Nat.* i. 3, 'Nomen in caussa est, quod quaedam occulta vis per vestrum ignorantiam oppugnat.'

13. **tabella**: the judicial tablet setting forth the charge and sentence of punishment; Pontius *vit. S. Cypr.* 17, 'legit de tabula jam sententiam judex'; *Acta procons. S. Cypr.* 4, 'decretum ex tabella recitavit'; Cicero *pro Flacc.* 39. 99.

22. **Caïus Seius.** A fictitious name commonly used (comp. ch. 48)

Christianus. Item alius: Ego miror Lucium sapientem virum repente factum Christianum. Nemo retractat: Nonne ideo bonus Caïus, et prudens Lucius, quia Christianus? aut ideo Christianus, quia prudens et bonus? Laudant quae sciunt, vituperant quae ignorant, et id quod sciunt, eo quod ignorant, corrumpunt; cum sit justius occulta de manifestis praejudicare, quam manifesta de occultis praedamnare. Alii, quos retro ante hoc nomen vagos, viles, improbos noverant, ex ipso denotant, quo laudant; caecitate odii in suffragium impingunt. Quae mulier! quam lasciva, quam festiva! Qui juvenis! quam lascivus, quam amasius! Facti sunt Christiani. Ita nomen emendationi imputatur. Nonnulli etiam de utilitatibus suis cum odio isto paciscuntur, contenti injuria, dum ne domi habeant, quod oderunt. Uxorem jam pudicam maritus jam non zelotypus ejecit, filium jam subjectum pater retro patiens abdicavit, servum jam fidelem dominus olim mitis ab oculis relegavit: ut quisque hoc nomine emendatur, offendit. Tanti non est bonum, quanti est odium Christianorum. Nunc igitur, si nominis odium est, quis nominum reatus? Quae accusatio vocabulorum, nisi si aut barbarum sonat aliqua vox nominis, aut infaustum, aut maledicum, aut impudicum? Christianus vero, quantum interpretatio est, de unctione deducitur. Sed et cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur

to designate an imaginary or unnamed personage; much as English lawyers formerly employed the initials 'J. S.,' *i. e.* 'John Styles.'

2. **Nemo retractat.** 'No one troubles to consider whether . . . '; see note on *retractare*, ch. 25; comp. *Scorp.* 7, 'nec quisquam retractat,' *etc.*

6. **corrumpunt.** Their very recognition of the good qualities, *bonus, prudens* ('id quod sciunt') is marred by the *exprobratio nominis Christiani* which goes along with it ('eo quod ignorant'); *corrumpunt* is employed similarly ch. 46.

9. **in suffragium impingunt**: 'in their blind hatred they are driven to pass a favourable judgment.' The contrast drawn between the pagan and Christian lives of their former friends was an implicit commendation of their conversion.

16. **abdicavit**: 'disinherited'; the judicial signification of *abdicare.* In ch. 6 *abdicaverunt* bears its usual sense of 'rejected.'

23. **Chrestianus**: comp. Sueton. *Claud.* 25, 'Judaeos impulsore Chresto

a vobis (nam nec nominis certa est notitia penes vos), de suavitate vel benignitate compositum est. Oditur ergo in hominibus innocuis etiam nomen innocuum.

At enim secta oditur in nomine utique sui auctoris. Quid novi, si aliqua disciplina de magistro cognomentum sectatoribus suis inducit? Nonne philosophi de auctoribus suis nuncupantur Platonici, Epicurei, Pythagorici? etiam a locis conventiculorum et stationum suarum Stoici, Academici? atque medici ab Erasistrato, et grammatici ab Aristarcho, coci etiam ab Apicio? Nec tamen quemquam offendit professio nominis, cum institutione transmissa ab institutore. Plane si qui probet malam sectam et ita malum auctorem, is probabit et nomen malum dignum odio de reatu sectae et auctoris. Ideoque ante odium nominis competebat prius de auctore sectam recognoscere, vel auctorem de secta. At nunc utriusque inquisitione et agnitione neglecta nomen detinetur, nomen expugnatur, et ignotam sectam, ignotum et auctorem vox sola praedamnat, quia nominantur, non quia revincuntur.

## CAPUT IV.

ATQUE adeo quasi praefatus haec ad suggillandam odii erga nos publici iniquitatem, jam de caussa innocentiae consistam, nec tantum refutabo quae nobis objiciuntur, sed etiam in ipsos retorquebo qui objiciunt; ut ex hoc quoque sciant

assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit' (Acts xviii. 2); Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44, 'quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Chrestianos adpellabat'; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* iv. 7, 'Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutatur littera Chrestum solent dicere'; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 4, Ὅσον τε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν, and again *ibid.*, Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. Clem.-Alex. *Strom.* ii. 4, Αὐτίκα οἱ εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότες χρηστοί τέ εἰσι καὶ λέγονται. Comp. *Cohort. ad gent.* 9; Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 1.

20. ad suggillandam: 'that I might hold up to contempt'; see note on *suggillatio*, ch. 11.

21. consistam: a military metaphor; and so ch. 46, *constitimus*, 'we have held our position.'

omnes in Christianis non esse quae in se non nesciunt esse, simul uti erubescant accusantes, non dico pessimi optimos, sed jam, ut volunt, compares suos. Respondebimus ad singula quae in occulto admittere dicimur, quae illos palam admittentes invenimus, in quibus scelesti, in quibus vani, in quibus damnandi, in quibus irridendi deputamur.

Sed quoniam, cum ad omnia occurrit veritas nostra, postremo legum obstruitur auctoritas adversus eam, ut aut nihil dicatur retractandum esse post leges, aut ingratis necessitas obsequii praeferatur veritati: de legibus prius concurram vobiscum ut cum tutoribus legum. Jam primum quam dure definitis dicendo: Non licet esse vos! Et hoc sine ullo retractatu humaniore praescribitis; vim profitemini et iniquam ex arce dominationem, si ideo negatis licere, quia vultis, non quia debuit non licere. Quod si quia non debet, ideo non vultis licere, sine dubio id non debet licere, quod male fit, et utique hoc ipso praejudicatur licere, quod bene fit. Si bonum invenero esse, quod lex tua prohibuit, nonne ex illo praejudicio prohibere me non potest, quod si malum esset, jure prohiberet? Si lex tua erravit, puto, ab homine concepta est; neque enim de caelo ruit. Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in repro-

8. **legum obstruitur auctoritas.** On the laws which might be enforced against the Christians see the Introduction, pages xiii–xv. It will be noticed that no reference is made in these chapters to any recent edict, as would have been natural if the rescript of Severus in 202 had been promulgated when the Apology was written.

9. **retractandum esse**: see note ch. 25.

10. **concurram vobiscum.** 'I will engage with you' (in argument); the metaphor is taken from the military signification of *concurrere*. Contrast its judicial meaning in ch. 24.

12. **Non licet esse vos!** 'Your existence is illegal.' Christianity was in technical phrase a *religio illicita*, a form of worship unknown to the law; see notes ch. 18, 21, 38. It undoubtedly contravened in both particulars Cicero's definition of 'legal'—'licere id dicimus, quod legibus, quod more majorum institutisque conceditur,' *Phil.* xiii. 6. 14. Comp. *ut denuo sint Christiani*, 'that the Christians may again have a legal existence,' 'may be tolerated as such,' in Galerius' edict of Toleration, Lactant. *de mort. Pers.* 34.

banda? Nonne et ipsius Lycurgi leges a Lacedaemoniis emendatae, tantum auctori suo doloris incusserunt, ut in secessu inedia de semetipso judicarit? Nonne et vos quotidie experimentis illuminantibus tenebras antiquitatis totam illam veterem et squalentem silvam legum novis principalium rescriptorum et edictorum securibus truncatis et caeditis? Nonne vanissimas Papias leges, quae ante liberos suscipi cogunt, quam Juliae matrimoniam contrahi, post tantae auctoritatis senectutem heri Severus constantissimus principum

1. **Nonne et ipsius Lycurgi.** So again ch. 46, where 'inedia de semetipso judicarit' is represented by 'ἀποκαρτέρησιν optavit.' But the account given by Plutarch (*vit. Lycurgi*) states that the reason for Lycurgus' suicide lay in his desire to preserve the inviolability of his laws, the excellence of which he had been assured of by the Delphic oracle, and to the observance of which until his return he had bound the Spartans by oath.

5. **silvam ... caeditis.** A proverbial expression recurring *de praescr. haer.* 37; *silva*, like the Greek ὕλη, being used metaphorically for *copia, materia.*

**principalium rescriptorum.** *Rescriptum* became the technical expression for the imperial decisions upon questions submitted for solution; *e.g.* the case of the Christians in Bithynia referred by Pliny to Trajan; ch. 2, 'tunc Trajan rescripsit.' These 'rescripts,' termed *principum mandata*, ch. 2, were registered as formal legislative enactments; see Merivale *Hist. Rom.* iii. 464 ff. *Principalium*, from the special meaning attached to *princeps*, here and generally in late prose writers (Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Velleius) = 'imperial.'

7. **Papias leges.** The Papian law (*lex Papia Poppaea*, Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 25), proposed by Augustus A.U.C. 762, was a more stringent re-enactment of the Julian law of the same emperor, A.U.C. 736. It laid heavier disabilities upon celibates and granted greater privileges to the married. The absurd discrepancy between them to which Tert. refers (*vanissimas*) lay in the permission given under the Julian law to men and women of twenty-five and twenty respectively to remain unmarried, whereas by the Papian law penalties were imposed upon those who were childless at that age. Sozom. *H. E.* i. 9; Tert. *de monog.*, 16. The laws were repealed by Constantine in A.D. 320 out of regard for religious celibacy, Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 26; Codex Justin. vii. 16. 1.

8. **post tantae auctoritatis senectutem.** Among the Romans antiquity was the gauge of sanctity. Tertullian uses this sentiment as the basis of an argument, ch. 19, 'Apud vos quoque religionis est instar fidem de temporibus asserere.'

9. **Severus constantissimus principum.** Tert. has a word of

exclusit? Sed et judicatos retro in partes secari a creditoribus leges erant; consensu tamen publico crudelitas postea erasa est et in pudoris notam capitis poena conversa; bonorum adhibita proscriptione suffundere maluit hominis sanguinem, quam effundere. Quot adhuc vobis repurgandae leges latent, quas neque annorum numerus, neque conditorum dignitas commendat, sed aequitas sola? et ideo cum iniquae recognoscuntur, merito damnantur, licet damnent. Quomodo iniquas dicimus? imo, si nomen puniunt, etiam stultas. Si vero facta, cur in nobis de solo nomine puniunt facta, quae in aliis de admisso, non de nomine probata defendunt? Incestus sum, cur non requirunt? infanticida, cur non extorquent? in deos, in Caesares aliquid committo, cur non audior, qui habeo quo purger? Nulla lex vetat discuti quod prohibet admitti; quia neque judex juste ulciscitur, nisi cognoscat admissum esse quod non licet; neque civis fideliter legi obsequitur, ignorans, quale sit, quod ulciscitur. Nulla lex sibi soli conscientiam justitiae suae debet, sed eis, a quibus obsequium exspectat. Ceterum suspecta lex est, quae probari se non vult, improba autem, si non probata dominetur.

praise for Severus *ad Scap.* 4, as *Christianorum memor.* On the firmness and severity of Severus' character see Gibbon i. 258. Aurelius Victor *de Caes.* 20; *Epitom.* 20, 'Acer ingenio, ad omnia quae intendisset, in finem perseverans.' Severus received the name of his predecessor Pertinax, hence the saying (Spartian. *Sever.* 14), 'Ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax vere Severus.'

1. **exclusit.** The Papian law was relaxed by Severus in favour of the Julian enactment.

**in partes secari.** The laws of the XII Tables, 8. Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xx. 1; Quint. *Inst. orat.* iii. 6. 84. This inhuman law was repealed A.U.C. 630.

14. **quo purger.** See note, ch. 2.

**discuti**: 'to be investigated'; a post-class. and patristic use of the verb.

17. **Nulla lex sibi soli . . . exspectat.** 'A law is bound to satisfy not itself alone, as to its intrinsic justice, but also those from whom it looks for obedience.'

## CAPUT V.

Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab imperatore consecraretur, nisi a senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad caussam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit; homo jam Deo propitius esse debebit. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in saeculum introivit, annuntiatum sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit; Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus

2. **Ut de origine . . . Christianorum.** This passage is quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 2) from the Greek translation of the Apology. Tertullian himself composed three treatises in Greek, which have been lost, 'De Spectaculis,' 'De Virginibus Velandis,' and 'De Baptismo': see *de coron.* 6, *de virg. vel.* 1, *de bapt.* 15.

**vetus erat decretum.** Cicero *de legibus* ii. 8, quoted in the Introduction, p. xiii. For instances of the application of this law see Livy iv. 30; xxv. 1; xxxviii. 18; and the reff. given below, ch. 6, under 'Liberum patrem' and 'Serapidem.'

3. **nisi a senatu probatus.** So below, ch. 13, 'status dei cujusque in senatus aestimatione pendebat.'

4. **Scit M. Aemilius.** M. Aemilius was consul A.U.C. 638. The god Alburnus is mentioned again *adv. Marc.* i. 18. Comp. Verg. *Georg.* iii. 147 for the Lucanian mount, whence the name of the deity.

8. **Tiberius ergo.** This statement is repeated by Eusebius *H. E.* ii. 2, but Tertullian is the sole authority for 'so remarkable a fact.' Justin Mart. says nothing of such a proposal, though he twice mentions the Acts of Pilate (*Apol.* i. 45, 63; see below, ch. 21). The story is now generally discredited; but 'it shows, and such is the purpose for which Tertullian cites it, that the early indulgence of the government to Christianity was an admitted fact which challenged explanation,' Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vi. 439.

12. **comminatus.** Kaye remarks (p. 105), 'This threat appears to me to have referred to the inveterate hostility manifested by the Jews against Christ and His disciples, which had come to the emperor's knowledge through the account transmitted by Pilate.'

periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros; illic reperietis primum Neronem in hanc sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. Qui enim scit illum, intelligere potest, non nisi grande aliquod bonum a Nerone damnatum. Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate; sed qua et homo, facile coeptum repressit, restitutis etiam quos relegaverat. Tales semper nobis insecutores, injusti, impii, turpes, quos et ipsi damnare consuestis, et a quibus damnatos restituere soliti estis. Ceterum de tot exinde principibus [usque] ad hodiernum divinum humanumque sapientibus, edite aliquem debellatorem Christianorum. At

1. **Consulite . . . damnatum.** Quoted by Eusebius ii. 25.

2. **primum Neronem.** Comp. *Scorp.* 15, 'Vitas Caesarum legimus; orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentavit'; Jerom. *Chron. Euseb.*, 'Primus Nero super omnia scelera sua etiam persecutionem inter Christianos facit'; Sueton. *Nero* 16; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44; Juvenal vii. 257. The edicts against the Christians were the only laws of Nero unrepealed by his successors, *ad Nat.* i. 7. But see Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vi. 450.

4. **dedicatore.** A patristic use of the word, = 'author,' 'originator': *de carn. Chr.* 17, 'Ante omnia autem commendanda erit ratio quae praefuit ut Dei Filius de virgine nasceretur. Nove nasci debebat novae nativitatis dedicator.' Similarly *dedicare*, 'to originate,' is used below, ch. 12, 'in patibulo primum corpus dei vestri dedicatur'; and *de poenit.* 2, 'jam inde in semetipso poenitentiam dedicavit.'

7. **portio Neronis de crudelitate**: 'somewhat of a Nero in regard to cruelty'; so *de pall.* 4 he is designated *subnero*, 'a semi-Nero'; comp. Juven. iv. 37, also of Domitian, 'et calvo serviret Roma Neroni.' Melito of Sardis, addressing Marcus Aurelius, speaks of Nero and Domitian as the only instances of imperial persecutors; *apud* Euseb. iv. 25.

**sed qua et homo**: 'but, having also some human feelings, he. . .'

8. **facile coeptum repressit.** The persecution under Domitian was a capricious outburst near the close of his reign; Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vii. 382 ff. Eusebius (iii. 17–20) connects its cessation with the dismissal of the insignificant survivors of the Jewish royal line.

**restitutis etiam quos relegaverat.** The actual recall of those exiled by Domitian was due to the senate on Nerva's accession. Euseb. *l. c.*

13. **debellatorem.** As used here in antithesis to *protectorem*, this

nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur. Qui sicut non palam ab ejusmodi hominibus poenam dimovit, ita alio modo palam dispersit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione, et quidem taetriore. Quales ergo leges istae, quas adversus nos soli exsequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vani, dementes?

word must be equivalent to *aggressorem*, *persecutorem*. So again the verb, ch. 29, 'eos debellatis qui eam sciunt petere.'

1. **protectorem.** This seems a strange title by which to designate Marcus Aurelius, but for the purposes of the present argument it was convenient for Tertullian to ignore the fearful persecutions which befel the Christians in this emperor's reign: see the Introduction, p. xv. Still, Aurelius was not personally a persecutor in the sense in which *e.g.* Decius was; yet the question remains, How came such a man to sanction persecution at all? See Merivale *Hist. Rom.* viii. 361 ff, that as emperor he felt bound to maintain the ancient laws of the state religion; and de Pressensé *Early Years of Christianity* ii. 115 ff, that as a stoic philosopher it was impossible for Aurelius to appreciate the Christian character.

**si litterae M. Aurelii.** Comp. *ad Scap.* 5. Euseb. v. 5 cites Tertullian and Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, both contemporary writers, in his account of the matter; and the story received embellishments from later authors; Orosius vii. 17; Niceph. iv. 12. The opportune shower is an historical fact, Dion Cass. lxxi. 8; Capitol. *M. Ant. Phil.* 24; but the existence of such a letter as Tert. mentions is universally discredited, as being controverted by the representation on the Antonine column, which attributes the shower to the beneficence of Jupiter Pluvius; and as being opposed to the general policy of Aurelius towards the Christians. Mosheim suggests that Tert. was thinking of the rescript of Antoninus Pius to the Assembly of Asia, Euseb. iv. 13; but, as there given, the decree is spurious. See a full discussion of the subject in Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. pp. 469–476, and the article *Legio Fulminatrix*, with an engraving of the Ant. column, in Martigny's *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.*

2. **gravissimi.** See the character of Aurelius drawn by the historian Capitolinus *M. Ant. Phil.* 2, 'Fuit a prima infantia gravis,' *etc.*

4. **Qui sicut non palam ... dimovit.** In the form of the letter given by Eusebius (*l. c.*) the *poena* is removed, *ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος, καὶ ἐὰν φαίνηται τοιοῦτος ὤν, ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται δίκης*, but this may only have applied to Asiatics. Comp. Euseb. v. 21, where at Rome the accuser's legs were broken, and Apollonius himself martyred (*c.* A.D. 186).

quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quanquam curiositatum omnium explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quanquam Judaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus impressit. Facilius utique pessimi ab optimis quibusque, ut ab aemulis, quam a suis sociis eradicandi judicarentur.

1. **quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus.** However illogical the decision of Trajan might be in strict law (above, ch. 2) its ruling was on the whole generous towards the Christians. Christianity had always been illegal: Trajan reaffirmed the fact, but forbade its professors to be sought out or to be anonymously accused. They were regarded as criminals, but placed in a better position than ordinary criminals.

2. **Hadrianus.** Hadrian, the dilettante philosopher and art-patron, issued a rescript (preserved by Justin Martyr *Apol.* i. 90, and quoted by Euseb. iv. 8, 9) in A.D. 124, of similar purport to the letter of Trajan to Pliny. It was addressed to Minucius Fundanus the proconsul of Asia, and was intended to secure for the Christians a formal trial and to protect them from slanderous informers.

**quanquam curiositatum,** *etc.* On the inquisitive and versatile character of Hadrian see Spartian. *Hadr.* 1, 2, 13 ff; Aurel. Victor *Epit.* 14; Eutrop. viii. 7; Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5. See Merivale *Hist. Rom.* viii. 182 ff.

3. **Vespasianus.** Early Christian authors are unanimous in asserting that no persecution was directed against the Christians by Vespasian (A.D. 69–79) or by his son Titus (79–81). Comp. Euseb. iii. 17, *Δεύτερος* [*i.e.* Domitian] *δῆτα τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνει διωγμόν, καίπερ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν ἄτοπον ἐπινοήσαντος.*

4. **Pius.** Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) is generally admitted to have shown a leniency to the Christians which was an advance upon the action of Hadrian; but his edicts to the people of Larissa, Thessalonica, Athens, and to the Greeks generally, in favour of the Christians mentioned by Melito of Sardis (*apud* Euseb. iv. 26), are not extant. See the Introduction, p. xiv. For his conduct as a prince see Marcus Aurelius *Medit.* i. 6; Capitol. *Ant. Pius* 2, 7.

**Verus.** Either Lucius Verus, who may have taken no part in the persecuting policy of his colleague, or Marcus Aurelius Verus himself, whose attitude towards the Christians Tertullian so strangely misrepresents; see note above, *protectorem.* 'Severus' is the reading of the Paris MS.

**impressit.** *Absol.* 'sanctioned,' 'put into operation.' The metaphor is probably taken from sealing, and therefore countenancing with one's authority.

## CAPUT VI.

NUNC religiosissimi legum et paternorum institutorum protectores et cultores respondeant velim de sua fide et honore et obsequio erga majorum consulta, si a nullo desciverunt, si in nullo exorbitaverunt, si non necessaria et aptissima quaeque disciplinae oblitteraverunt. Quonam illae leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes, quae centum aera non amplius in cenam subscribi jubebant, nec amplius quam unam inferri gallinam, et eam non saginatam; quae patricium, quod decem pondo argenti habuisset, pro magno titulo ambitionis senatu summovebant; quae theatra stuprandis moribus orientia statim destruebant; quae dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere, nec impune usurpari sinebant? Video enim et centenarias cenas, a centenis jam sestertiis dicendas, et in lances (parum est [enim] si senatorum et non libertinorum vel adhuc flagra

5. **exorbitaverunt.** *Orbita* = 'a wheel-rut'; *exorbitare* = 'to stray from the defined path,' 'to deviate.' The word recurs ch. 9, 16, 20. Comp. Sidon. Apollin. *Epp.* viii. 11, 'a catholicae fidei regulis exorbitare'; and Tert. *adv. Marc.* iii. 2; *de pudicit.* 8, 'a vero lumine exorbitant.'

7. **leges abierunt sumptum et ambitionem comprimentes.** The old sumptuary laws (*lex Fannia, lex Licinia*) were partly repealed and partly re-enacted by Augustus; Sueton. *Octav.* 34, 'leges retractavit, et quasdam ex integro sanxit, ut sumptuariam . . . de ambitu'; comp. Val. Max. ii. 4. *Ambitio* here = 'ostentatious display'; below ch. 7, 'quantacumque illa ambitione diffusa sit,' it may = *ambitu*, 'circuit'; or bear the sense of 'great exertion,' as in Just. i. 3.

8. **subscribi**: 'to be allowed'; a non-class. use common in Tertullian: comp. ch. 18, 'hoc quoque Ptolemaeo a Judaeis subscriptum est'; *de virg. vel.* 10; *de anim.* 40.

10. **quae patricium.** Cornelius Rufinus, who was expelled from the Senate by the Censor Fabricius; Val. Max. ii. 9. 4.

**argenti**: 'of plate.' Five pounds was the maximum permitted, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 50.

**pro magno titulo ambitionis.** See notes on *titulus*, ch. 2, 44.

15. **parum est si**: 'it were of little moment if . . .'

16. **libertinorum**: 'freedmen'; Tertullian gives an instance *de pall.*

rumpentium) argentaria metalla producta. Video et theatra nec singula satis esse, nec nuda. Nam ne vel hieme voluptas impudica frigeret, primi Lacedaemonii odium paenulae ludis excogitaverunt. Video et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum. Circa feminas quidem etiam illa majorum instituta ceciderunt, quae modestiae, quae sobrietati patrocinabantur, cum aurum nulla norat, praeter unico digito, quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo anulo; cum mulieres usque adeo a vino abstinerent ut matronam ob resignatos cellae vinariae loculos sui inedia necarint. Sub Romulo vero quae vinum attigerat, impune a Mecenio marito trucidata est. Idcirco et oscula propinquis offerre necessitas erat, ut spiritu judicarentur. Ubi est illa

5, 'Drusillanus, equidem servus Claudii, quingenariam promulsidem aedificat'; comp. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 52.

1. **adhuc flagra rumpentium**, *i.e.* slaves; a contemptuous periphrasis common in Plautus and Juvenal; comp. 'gymnasium flagri,' Plaut. *As.* ii. 2. 31; 'hic frangit ferulas, rubet ille flagello,' Juven. *Sat.* vi. 378.

**theatra . . . nuda**, *i.e. sine tecto.* The theatres were originally uncovered: awnings were afterwards added for shelter against the cold or heat.

3. **primi L. odium paenulae ludis.** A characteristic piece of irony. The cloak employed by the hardy Spartans for their protection in time of war was surely invented solely for the use of effeminate theatre-goers in all weathers! Comp. Dion Cass. lvii. 13.

7. **patrocinabantur.** Technically *patrocinari* = 'to defend in a law-court'; here it is used simply for 'protect,' 'encourage': the word is a favourite one of Tertullian, *e.g.* ch. 18, 19 frag.; *Scorp.* 4.

8. **praeter unico digito.** The nuptial ring was placed upon 'the fourth finger of the left hand' in the belief that a particular vein connected that finger directly with the heart. Aul. Gell. x. 10; Macrob. vii. 13; comp. *de idol.* 16; Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 4. It is termed *digitus medicinalis*, Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 13.

**oppignerasset**: 'had pledged to himself with the wedding ring.' The word is a rare one, but occurs in its literal signification of 'pawning,' Martial ii. 57. 7; and so *pignerando*, below, ch. 13.

10. **sui inedia necarint**: 'her own relatives starved to death'; comp. Plin. *N. H.* xiv. 13.

11. **a Mecenio marito.** Val. Max. vi. 3. 9, 'Egnatii autem Metelli longe minori de caussa; qui uxorem quod vinum bibisset, fuste percussam interemit.'

felicitas matrimoniorum de moribus utique prosperata, qua per annos ferme sexcentos ab Urbe condita nulla repudium domus scripsit? At nunc in feminis prae auro nullum leve est membrum; prae vino nullum liberum est osculum: repudium vero jam et votum est, quasi matrimonii fructus.

Etiam circa ipsos deos vestros quae prospecte decreverant patres vestri, iidem vos obsequentissimi rescidistis. Liberum patrem cum mysteriis suis consules senatus auctoritate non modo Urbe, sed universa Italia eliminaverant. Serapidem et Isidem et Harpocratem cum suo Cynocephalo, Capitolio prohibitos [inferri], id est curia deorum pulsos, Piso et Gabinius consules, non utique Christiani, eversis etiam aris eorum abdicaverant, turpium et otiosarum superstitionum

2. **per annos ferme sexcentos** A.U.C. Val. Max. ii. 1. 4, 'Repudium . . . a condita Urbe usque ad vigesimum et quingentesimum annum nullum intercessit. Primus autem Sp. Carvilius uxorem sterilitatis caussa dimisit.'

4. **repudium vero jam votum est**: 'divorce is now the subject of prayer, as if it (and not children) were the natural fruit of marriage.' See Wordsworth's *Church Hist.* i. 328, 'The most celebrated Romans put away their wives for frivolous causes'; *etc.* Comp. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 6. 17 ff.; Juven. *Sat.* vi. 20; Martial *Epigr.* vi. 7; Seneca *de benefic.* iii. 16.

7. **Liberum patrem.** Comp. Livy xxxix. 8; Val. Max. i. 3; Tert. *ad Nat.* i. 10.

9. **eliminaverant.** A word confined to early and late authors: lit. 'to turn out of doors'; here, 'to banish,' as in Sidon. Apol. *Epp.* iv. 10: comp. Quintil. *Inst. orat.* iii. 31.

**Serapidem et Isidem.** The worship (chiefly popular) of these deities was forbidden by Augustus within the precincts of the city, Dion Cass. xl. 47; xlvii. 15; li. 16; liii. 2; liv. 6; comp. the similar action of Tiberius, Sueton. *Tib.* 36; Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 85; and the decree of the senate in Claudius' reign, Tacit. *Ann.* xi. 15. Yet by the end of the second century these foreign cults were admitted, and even adopted by the emperors; Ael. Lamprid. *Commod.* 9, 'Sacra Isidis coluit ut et caput raderet et Anubin portaret.' Spartian. *Caracalla* 9, 'Sacra Isidis Romam deportavit et templa ubique magnifice eidem deae fecit,' *etc.* Comp. below, ch. 24, 'Aegyptiis permissa est,' *etc.*

10. **Harpocratem.** The Egyptian god of silence.

**cum suo Cynocephalo.** Anubis, a dog-headed Egyptian deity; comp. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 698, 'latrator Anubis'; Ovid. *Am.* ii. 13. 11.

13. **abdicaverant.** See note, ch. 3.

vitia cohibentes. His vos restitutis summam majestatem contulistis. Ubi religio, ubi veneratio majoribus debita a vobis? Habitu, victu, instructu, sensu, ipso denique sermone proavis renuntiastis. Laudatis semper antiquitatem, et nove de die vivitis. Per quod ostenditur, dum a bonis majorum institutis deceditis, ea vos retinere et custodire, quae non debuistis, cum quae debuistis non custodistis. Ipsum adhuc quod videmini fidelissime tueri a patribus traditum, in quo principaliter reos transgressionis Christianos destinatis, studium dico deorum colendorum, de quo maxime erravit antiquitas, licet Serapidi jam-Romano aras restruxeritis, licet Baccho jam-Italico furias vestras immolaritis, suo loco ostendam proinde despici et negligi et destrui a vobis adversus majorum auctoritatem. Nunc enim ad illam occultorum facinorum infamiam respondebo, ut viam mihi ad manifestiora purgem.

## CAPUT VII.

DICIMUR sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii, et pabulo inde, et post convivium incesto, quod eversores luminum

12. **suo loco ostendam.** Ch. 13.

18. **Dicimur.** Tertullian now enters upon the chief purpose of his treatise—the disproof of the calumnies commonly asserted respecting the Christians. The hideous crimes mentioned ch. 7–9 were charges based partly upon ignorant and distorted accounts of the Holy Eucharist and the Love-feast, and partly upon the fact that gross sins of impurity were practised by several heretical sects which were not distinguished by the heathen from the Church. The latter cause is expressly alleged by Eusebius *H. E.* iv. 7; comp. ii. 13; and see Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 35; Minuc. Fel. 9, 30, 31; Irenaeus *adv. Haer.* i. 1. 9.

**sacramento.** This word in its original classical signification was applied to 'an oath ratified by a religious ceremony,' but by transfer of meaning it came to be used of the religious ceremony itself, as here and above, ch. 2. In ch. 15, 47 it stands for the body of Christian doctrine. It is used by Tertullian in its earliest sense, *de idol.* 6; *de coron.* 13, of the Baptismal Vows; but in ch. 19, and *de praescr. haer.* 20 simply for 'Religion.'

**infanticidii**: 'on account of our infanticidal religious ceremony and our banquet thereat.' Comp. the Θυέστεια δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους

canes, lenones scilicet, tenebrarum et libidinum impiarum inverecundia procurent. Dicimur tamen semper, nec vos quod tam diu dicimur eruere curatis. Ergo aut eruite, si creditis, aut nolite credere, qui non eruistis. De vestra vobis dissimulatione praescribitur, non esse, quod nec ipsi audetis eruere. Longe aliud munus carnifici in Christianos imperatis, non ut dicant quae faciunt, sed ut negent quod sunt.

Census istius disciplinae, ut jam edidimus, a Tiberio est. Cum odio sui coepit veritas, simul atque apparuit, inimica esse. Tot hostes ejus, quot extranei, et quidem proprii ex aemulatione Judaei, ex concussione milites, ex natura ipsi etiam domestici nostri. Quotidie obsidemur, quotidie pro-

*μίξεις, καὶ ὅσα μήτε λαλεῖν μήτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῖν,* which the Gallican Christians were accused of by heathen slaves, Euseb. v. 1. Origen states that in his day these libels were obsolete (*contr. Cels.* vi. 40); comp. Lightfoot *Ignatius* i. 52.

5. **praescribitur**, a legal term: *praescribere* = 'to lodge a demurrer,' 'to rule a preliminary objection against.' This is the general sense in Tertullian, comp. ch. 47; *adv. Herm.* 1, 'Solemus haereticis compendii gratia de posteritate praescribere'; *ib.* 33; and the title of one of his treatises DE PRAESCRIPTIONE HAERETICORUM; *adv. Marc.* i. 1, 'sed alius libellus hunc gradum sustinebit adversus haereticos . . . de praescriptione novitatis.' Similarly the adverb 'praescriptivè,' *adv. Marc.* iv. 1. It also bears the meaning 'to define,' and so *praescriptum* = 'a precept,' *de exhort. cast.* 3. See too *de monogam.* 12, 'praescribe constanter non omnibus praecipi, quae quibusdam sint praecepta.'

9. **Census**, *i. e.* '*origo*': *census* and *censeri* bear the sense of 'beginning' and 'originate' very frequently in Tertullian. Comp. ch. 10, 12, 'inde censentur dii vestri'; *ad uxor.* i. 6; *de praesc. haer.* 21, 32, 'Ecclesiae apostolicae census suos deferunt'; *adv. Herm.* 33; *de monogam.* 5, 'census noster transfertur in Christum,' *etc.*; 11, 'a fide enim etiam ipsa vita nostra censetur.'

12. **ex concussione**: *concussio* in legal phraseology signifies 'an extortion of money by means of threats'; so *ad Scap.* 4, 'in elogio concussione ejus intellecta,' of an indictment purely vexatious; and 'concussor,' *de fug. in pers.* 12, 13. Soldiers from the nature of their calling would be peculiarly liable to the temptation of indulging in such 'violence'; comp. S. John Baptist's advice to them, S. Luke iii. 14, 'Neminem concutiatis' (Vulg.); *μηδένα διασείσητε.*

**ex natura . . . domestici nostri**: *ex natura* will mean from the natural enmity slaves feel towards their masters: comp. S. Matt. x. 36, 'Et inimici hominis, domestici ejus.'

dimur, in ipsis plurimum coetibus et congregationibus nostris opprimimur. Quis unquam taliter vagienti infanti supervenit? Quis cruenta, ut invenerat, Cyclopum et Sirenum ora judici reseravit? Quis vel in uxoribus aliqua immunda vestigia deprehendit? Quis talia facinora, cum invenisset, celavit, aut vendidit ipsos trahens homines. Si semper latemus, quando proditum est quod admittimus? Imo a quibus prodi potuit? Ab ipsis enim reis non utique, cum vel ex forma omnibus mysteriis silentii fides debeatur. Samothracia et Eleusinia reticentur: quanto magis talia, quae prodita interim etiam humanam animadversionem provocabunt, dum divina servatur? Si ergo non ipsi proditores sui, sequitur ut extranei. Et unde extraneis notitia? cum semper etiam piae initiationes arceant profanos et ab arbitris caveant, nisi si impii minus metuunt? natura famae omnibus nota est. Vestrum est:

Fama malum, quo non aliud velocius ullum.

Cur malum fama? quia velox? quia index? an quia plurimum mendax? quae ne tunc quidem, cum aliquid veri affert, sine mendacii vitio est, detrahens, adjiciens, demutans de veritate. Quid? quod ea illi conditio est, ut non nisi cum mentitur perseveret, et tamdiu vivit, quamdiu non probat. Siquidem ubi probavit, cessat esse, et quasi officio, nuntiandi functa, rem tradit, et exinde res tenetur, res nominatur. Nec quisquam dicit, verbi gratia: *Hoc Romae aiunt factum;* aut: *Fama est illum provinciam sortitum;* sed: *Sortitus ille*

5. **Quis talia facinora**: 'who ever first discovered and then concealed such crimes, or sold his information with the very culprits in his grasp'? Comp. *ad Scap.* 2; and for the expression *trahens viros,* Acts viii. 3 (*Vulg.*).

8. **Ab ipsis enim reis non utique**: 'Not by the criminals themselves at all events, since even in all mysteries the duty of secrecy is imperatively demanded.'

11. **quae prodita interim . . . dum divina servatur**: 'which, if betrayed, would at once provoke human punishment, and for which Divine wrath would be reserved.'

17. **Fama malum.** Verg. *Aen.* iv. 174.

*provinciam*, et: *Hoc factum est Romae.* Fama, nomen incerti, locum non habet, ubi certum est. An vero famae credat, nisi inconsideratus? Qui est sapiens, non credit incerto. Omnium est aestimare, quantacumque illa ambitione diffusa sit, quantacumque asseveratione constructa. Quod ab uno aliquando principe exorta sit, necesse est exinde in traduces linguarum et aurium serpat. Et ita modici seminis vitium cetera rumoris obscurat, ut nemo recogitet, ne primum illud os mendacium seminaverit, quod saepe fit aut ingenio aemulationis, aut arbitrio suspicionis, aut non nova, sed ingenita quibusdam mentiendi voluptate. Bene autem, quod omnia tempus revelat testibus etiam vestris proverbiis atque sententiis, ex dispositione naturae, quae ita ordinavit, ut nihil diu lateat, etiam quod fama non distulit. Merito igitur fama tamdiu conscia sola est scelerum Christianorum. Hanc indicem adversus nos profertis, quae, quod aliquando jactavit tantoque temporis spatio in opinionem corroboravit, usque adhuc probare non valuit.

4. **Omnium est aestimare**: 'Anyone can judge this . . .' **ambitione.** See note, ch. 6.

6. **Quod ab uno aliquando principe.** 'A tale which has originated some time or other with a single authority is bound to insinuate itself into the propagating channels of tongues and ears'; for *traduces*, 'transmitting agencies,' see note, ch. 9.

7. **Et ita modici seminis vitium.** 'And a flaw in the insignificant source so obscures the rest of the report that it never strikes anyone whether the first lips did not originate a falsehood, as often happens either from a jealous imagination or whimsical suspicion, or from the mere love of lying, which is in some persons not an acquirement, but innate.'

12. **omnia tempus revelat.** A well-known proverb; like the English 'Time tryeth Troth.' Comp. the dictum of Seneca, 'Veritatem dies aperit'; and the Greek proverb *χρόνος πάντων βασανιστής.* So Truth is sometimes spoken of as the Daughter of Time.

17. **in opinionem,** 'into a general belief.' *Demonstratio* is wanted to convert *rumor* into *factum*, yet iteration and time have strengthened *rumor* into *opinio*.

## CAPUT VIII.

UT fidem naturae ipsius appellem adversus eos qui talia credenda esse praesumunt, ecce proponimus horum facinorum mercedem; vitam aeternam repromittunt. Credite interim. De hoc enim quaero, an et qui credideris, tanti habeas ad eam tali conscientia pervenire. Veni, demerge ferrum in infantem nullius inimicum, nullius reum, omnium filium; vel si alterius officium est, tu modo adsiste morienti homini antequam vixit; fugientem animam novam exspecta; excipe rudem sanguinem, eo panem tuum satia, vescere libenter. Interea discumbens dinumera loca, ubi mater, ubi soror; nota diligenter, ut, quum tenebrae ceciderint caninae, non erres. Piaculum enim admiseris, nisi incestum feceris. Talia initiatus et consignatus vivis in aevum. Cupio respondeas, si tanti aeternitas, aut si non, ideo nec credenda. Etiamsi credideris, nego te velle; etiamsi volueris, nego te posse.

2. **fidem naturae ipsius**: 'the trustworthy testimony of Nature herself.' Tertullian proceeds upon the principle that the voice of natural instinct, although individual cases may occasionally furnish exceptions, can always be relied upon where a large body of persons are concerned. Comp. Min. Fel. 30; Tert. *ad Nat.* i. 7.

9. **animam novam.** Comp. Lucret. i. 260, 'hinc nova proles Artubus infirmis teneras lasciva per herbas Ludit, lacte mero menteis percussa novellas.'

14. **consignatus.** This word, technically belonging to the pagan mysteries (*adv. Val.* 1), was adopted by Christians and applied to the rite of Confirmation, '*signaculum frontis*,' *adv. Marc.* iii. 22; *de resur. carn.* 8; Ambrosiaster *in Ephes.* iv. 11, 12. 'Signum Christi in vitam aeternam' was the formula prescribed at Confirmation in the Gelasian sacramentary; and 'consignati' occurs in many inscriptions as the designation of confirmees.

**Cupio respondeas, si tanti.** 'I want you to say whether eternity is worth all this, and if it is not, then neither ought it to be believed to be so.'

16. **etiamsi volueris, nego te posse.** Tertullian confidently appeals to the instinctive horror with which every man would recoil from such crimes. The Gallican Christians (A. D. 177) similarly wrote that they were accused of crimes which they did not believe man had ever committed; *μηδὲ πιστεύειν εἴ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο,* Euseb. v. 1. 12.

Cur ergo alii possint, si vos non potestis? Cur non possitis, si alii possunt? Alia nos, opinor, natura; cynopaene aut sciapodes? Alii ordines dentium, alii ad incestam libidinem nervi? Qui ista credis de homine, potes et facere. Homo es et ipse, quod et Christianus. Qui non potes facere, non debes credere. Homo est enim et Christianus, et quod et tu.

Sed ignorantibus subjicitur et imponitur. Nihil enim tale de Christianis asseverari sciebant, observandum utique sibi et omni vigilantia investigandum. Atquin volentibus initiari moris est, opinor, prius patrem illum sacrorum adire, quae praeparanda sint describere. Tum ille: Infans tibi necessarius, adhuc tener, qui nesciat mortem, qui sub cultro tuo rideat; item panis, quo sanguinis jurulentiam colligas; praeterea candelabra et lucernae, et canes aliqui et offulae, quae illos ad eversionem luminum extendant, ante omnia cum matre et sorore tua venire debebis. Quid, si noluerint, vel nullae fuerint? Quid denique singulares Christiani? Non erit, opinor, legitimus Christianus, nisi frater aut filius. Quid nunc, et si ista omnia ignaris praeparantur? Certe postea

2. **cynopaene aut sciapodes**: lit. 'dog-faced or feet-shadowed'; fabulous monstrosities; see Pliny *Nat. Hist.* vii. 2, 'eosdem Sciapodes vocari, quod in majore aestu humi jacentes supini umbra se pedum protegant'; S. Aug. *de civ. Dei* xvi. 8; Tert. *ad Nat.* i. 7.

8. **Sed ignorantibus subjicitur et imponitur.** 'But, you say, deceit and imposition are practised on the ignorant neophytes.' *Ignorantibus* = the candidates for initiation, who must be supposed, contrary to all custom, to have neglected to make any inquiries as to what would be expected from them.

10. **Atquin volentibus . . . opinor.** This is of course ironical. 'And yet it occurs to me as being usual . . .'

11. **patrem illum sacrorum**: the 'magister sacrorum' or director of the ritual, the hierophant.

**adire, quae praep. sint describere**: 'to go first to the hierophant and to take down the requisite preparations': this seems a preferable construction to that which makes *describere = ut pater ille sac. tibi describat.*

15. **candelabra**: 'quae canes annexi deturbent,' *ad Nat.* i. 7.

18. **singulares Christiani**, *i.e.* solitary neophytes, with no relatives.

cognoscunt, et sustinent et ignoscunt. Timent plecti, qui si proclament, defendi merebuntur, qui etiam ultro perire malint, quam sub tali conscientia vivere. Age nunc timeant, cur etiam perseverant? Sequitur enim, ne ultra velis id te esse, quod si prius scisses, non fuisses.

## CAPUT IX.

Haec quo magis refutaverim, a vobis fieri ostendam partim in aperto, partim in occulto, per quod forsitan et de nobis credidistis.

Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui ipsos sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbratricibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriae nostrae quae id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est. Sed et nunc in occulto perseverat hoc sacrum facinus. Non soli vos contemnunt Christiani, nec ullum scelus in perpetuum eradicatur, aut mores suos aliquis deus mutat. Cum propriis filiis Saturnus non pepercit, extraneis utique non parcendo perseverabat, quos quidem ipsi parentes sui offerebant, et libentes respondebant, et infantibus blandiebantur, ne lacrimantes immolarentur. Et tamen multum homicidio parricidium differt.

1. **sustinent**: 'bear up' under the shock of the discovery. *Sustinere* has the sense of 'bearing with,' 'putting up with,' ch. 25; and *ad uxor.* ii. 5 *passim.* It will be found with quite another meaning in ch. 35, where see note.

11. **usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii**: 'down to the time of a proconsul under Tiberius': so the expression is generally explained; but see Döllinger, *Gent. and Jew* i. 488, who thinks that there really was a proconsul Tiberius in the second century. In that case *militia patriae nostrae* may contain a reference to the soldiers under the command of Tertullian's father, the proconsular centurion.

20. **ne lacrimantes**, which would be inauspicious as indicative of reluctance. The victim must be willing, see ch. 28, 'divinae rei faciundae libens animus indicitur'; *ad Scap.* 2, 'ab invitis enim sacrificia [dii] non desiderabant nisi contentiosi sunt.'

21. **parricidium**: here used, as in Liv. iii. 50; viii. 11, of the murder of children by their parents. Comp. the use of *parricidae* in ch. 35.

Major aetas apud Gallos Mercurio prosecabatur. Remitto Tauricas fabulas theatris suis. Ecce in illa religiosissima urbe Aeneadarum piorum est Jupiter quidam, quem ludis suis humano proluunt sanguine. Sed bestiarii, inquitis. Hoc, opinor, minus quam hominis. An hoc turpius, quod mali hominis? Certe tamen de homicidio funditur. O Jovem Christianum et solum patris filium de crudelitate! Sed quoniam de infanticidio nihil interest, sacro an arbitrio per-

1. **prosecabatur**: a sacrificial term used especially of the *exta victimarum*; but here in a general sense, and so ch. 23, 46.

2. **Tauricas fabulas.** The Taurians were a Thracian tribe, living in Tauric Chersonese (Crimea), who sacrificed strangers to Artemis, or according to Herod. iv. 103, to Iphigenia. Comp. Min. Fel. ch. 30, 'Tauris etiam Ponticis . . . fuit hospites immolare.'

3. **Jupiter quidam**: Jupiter Latiaris; comp. *Scorp.* 7; Min. Fel. 21, 'et cum Latiaris [dicitur] cruore perfunditur'; *ib.* 30; Lact. i. 21; Macrob. i. 10; Plin. xxxiv. 7.

4. **Sed bestiarii.** 'But only the blood of a criminal already condemned to the beasts, you say.' A *bestiarius* (θηριομάχης) was a criminal condemned to fight in the arena with wild beasts: he was unarmed and sometimes bound (Vopisc. *Aurel.* 37; comp. *de pudic.* 22; and below, ch. 12, 40), and his death was therefore certain. Sometimes unconvicted gladiators were hired to engage with the beasts for the diversion of the spectators (*de spect.* 19); these were armed and, if victorious, rewarded. Such an one is mentioned, ch. 16, as a *mercenarius noxius* (see note): prisoners and slaves occasionally thus fought for their liberty. Comp. Cicero *in Vatin.* 17. 40; *pro Sest.* 64. 135, 'praeclara aedilitas! unus leo, ducenti bestiarii.'

**Hoc, opinor.** This ironical *opinor* is frequently employed by Tertullian. 'And therefore, I suppose, of less account than the blood of a man'!

6. **de homicidio funditur**: contrasted with the more heinous *parricidio*.

**O Jovem Christianum.** This may be regarded as a bitterly sarcastic adoption of the heathen charge against the Christians retorted upon Jupiter himself.

7. **et solum patris filium**: inasmuch as he alone escaped the fate which befel Saturn's other children of being devoured by their own father. There is a parallel sarcastically hinted at between Jupiter as *filius unicus* of Saturn, and Christ as *Unigenitus Patris Filius*, carrying on the irony of 'O Jovem Christianum'!

8. **sacro an arbitrio**: 'whether committed under religious sanctions or out of mere caprice.'

petretur (licet parricidium homicidio intersit) convertar ad populum. Quot vultis ex his circumstantibus et in Christianorum sanguinem hiantibus, ex ipsis etiam vobis justissimis et severissimis in nos praesidibus apud conscientias pulsem, qui natos sibi liberos enecent? Siquidem et de genere necis differt utique crudelius in qua spiritum extorquetis, aut frigori et fami et canibus exponitis; ferro enim mori aetas quoque major optaverit. Nobis vero, homicidio semel interdicto, etiam conceptum utero, dum adhuc sanguis in hominem delibatur, dissolvere non licet. Homicidii festinatio est prohibere nasci; nec refert natam quis eripiat animam, an nascentem disturbet: homo est, et qui est futurus; etiam fructus omnis jam in semine est.

De sanguinis pabulo et ejusmodi tragicis ferculis legite, nuncubi relatum sit, [est apud Herodotum, opinor] defusum brachiis sanguinem ex alterutro degustatum nationes quasdam foederi comparasse. Nescio quid et sub Catilina tale degus-

4. **apud conscientias pulsem,** 'whose consciences I prick'; the metaphor is that of knocking at a door to make enquiry (*pulsare fores*). Contrast the meaning of 'veritatis fores pulsant,' *de test. an.* 1.

5. **qui natos sibi liberos enecent.** Comp. Lactant. *Inst. Div.* vi. 20; and for the horrible practices of heathen diviners Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10; viii. 14; *Vit. Const.* i. 36.

7. **ferro enim mori:** death by the knife, the method of slaughter you attribute to the Christians.

9. **conceptum utero.** Abortion and infanticide were commonly resorted to by Roman wives; their degraded views of marriage and the absence of conjugal love entailing a morbid distaste for the joys of maternity. Wordsworth, *Church Hist.* i. 328 ff. Tacitus applauds the purer moral atmosphere of the German homes (*Germ.* 19).

10. **delibatur.** It is difficult to translate this word literally, though the sense in which it must be taken is clear enough. *Deliberatur* is an accredited reading, and is supported by *adv. Marc.* iv. 21, 'non decem mensium cruciatu deliberatus.'

**Homicidii festinatio,** 'premature murder.'

11. **an nascentem disturbet,** 'or destroy it while being produced.'

15. **est apud Herodotum.** Herod. i. 74, ix. 70: comp. Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 47; Val. Max. ix. 11.

17. **sub Catilina.** Sallust. *Catil.* 22; Florus iv. 1, 'Additum est pignus conjurationis sanguis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere.'

tatum est. Aiunt et apud quosdam gentiles Scytharum defunctum quemque a suis comedi. Longe excurro. Hodie istic Bellonae sacratos sanguis de femore proscisso parmula exceptus et suis datus signat. Item illi, qui munere in arena noxiorum jugulatorum sanguinem recentem [de jugulo decurrentem exceptum] avida siti comitiali morbo medentes hauserunt, ubi sunt? item illi, qui de arena ferinis obsoniis cenant, qui de apro, qui de cervo petunt? Aper ille, quem cruentavit, colluctando detersit; cervus ille in gladiatoris sanguine se jactavit. Ipsorum ursorum alvei appetuntur cruditantes adhuc de visceribus humanis. Ructatur proinde ab homine caro pasta de homine. Haec qui editis, quantum abestis a conviviis Christianorum? Minus autem illi faciunt, qui libidine fera humanis membris inhiant, quia vivos vorant? minus humano sanguine ad spurcitiam consecrantur, quia futurum sanguinem lambunt? non edunt infantes plane, sed magis puberes. Erubescat error vester Christianis, qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem in epulis esculentis habemus,

2. **a suis comedi**: *adv. Marc.* i. 1; Herod. i. 216; Silius Ital. *Punic.* xiii. 466 ff.; Jerom. *adv. Jov.* 2.

**Hodie istic.** 'To-day, at home . . .,' *i. e.* 'here in Carthage.'

3. **Bellonae sacratos,** *etc.* Comp. Ael. Lamprid. *Commodus* 9, 'Bellonae servientes vere exsecare brachium praecepit studio crudelitatis'; Verg. *Aen.* viii. 703, 'Bellona cum sanguineo flagello.'

6. **comitiali morbo medentes,** 'as a cure for epilepsy.'

11. **cruditantes . . . humanis.** Comp. Salvian. *de gub. Dei* vi. 2, 'Primum, quod nihil ferme vel criminum vel flagitiorum est quod in spectaculis non sit; ubi summum deliciarum genus est mori homines, aut . . . expleri ferarum alvos humanis carnibus, comedi homines cum circumstantium laetitia . . . et ut devorari possint a feris viscera hominum, non licet naturam rerum aliquid habere secretum.'

17. **qui ne animalium quidem sanguinem.** Blood, as the visible representation of 'the life,' was forbidden as an article of food in the earliest prae-Mosaic legislation (Gen. ix. 4–6; comp. Apost. Const. vi. 22), and the prohibition was reinforced in the Levitical code (Lev. xvii. 10–14), and again by the Council of Jerusalem dealing with Gentile converts (Acts xv. 20). It has ever continued the rule in the Eastern Church, and was long observed in the West. Comp. *de monog.* 5; Euseb. v. i, *πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οἷς μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζώων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν*; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 3; *Strom.* iv. 15; Origen *contr. Cels.* viii. 30; Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* ix. 28; xvii. 29.

qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus, ne quo sanguine contaminemur vel intra viscera sepulto. Denique inter tentamenta Christianorum botulos etiam cruore distentos admovetis, certissimi scilicet, illicitum esse penes illos, per quod exorbitare eos vultis. Porro quale est, ut quos sanguinem pecoris horrere confiditis, humano inhiare credatis, nisi forte suaviorem eum experti? Quem quidem et ipsum proinde examinatorem Christianorum adhiberi ut foculum, ut acerram oportebat. Proinde enim probarentur sanguinem humanum appetendo, quemadmodum sacrificium respuendo; alioquin necandi si gustassent, quemadmodum si non immolassent. Et utique non deesset vobis in auditione custodiarum et damnatione sanguis humanus.

Proinde incesti qui magis, quam quos ipse Jupiter docuit? Persas cum suis matribus misceri Ctesias refert. Sed et Macedones suspecti, quia quum primum Oedipum tragoediam audissent, ridentes incesti dolorem, *ἤλαυνε*, dicebant, *εἰς τὴν μητέρα*. Jam nunc recogitate, quantum liceat erroribus ad incesta miscenda, suppeditante materias passivitate luxuriae.

1. **suffocatis quoque et morticinis.** Acts xv. 20; Lev. xxii. 8; Ezek. iv. 44 (Vulg.).

3. **inter tentamenta,** *etc.* As a final proof, amongst other tests applied to the Christians you offer them puddings filled with blood: *botulus,* according to Aul. Gellius xvii. 7. 11, is a vulgar word equivalent to *farcimen,* 'a sausage'; comp. Apic. ii. 5: Tert. uses it, *de jejun.* 1, of the stomach.

5. **exorbitare eos.** See note, ch. 6. The verb is perhaps active here, as in Sid. Apol. *Epp.* v. 16, 'to turn them aside.'

8. **ut foculum, ut acerram:** 'just as much as the brazier and the incense-box': these were the usual *tentamenta Christianorum,* the burning of a few grains of incense and invoking the genius of the emperor; ch. 28, 32; *de idol.* 24, 'ut idololatriae devitandae vacaremus. Haec erit lex nostra . . . propria Christianorum, per quam ab ethnicis agnoscimur et examinamur'; *adv. Marc.* i. 27, 'quid non et in persecutionibus statim oblata acerra animam negatione lucraris'? Acta SS. Perp. et Felic. ii. 2, 'Fac sacrum pro salute imperatorum. Et ego respondi, Non facio.' Euseb. iv. 15.

12. **custodiarum,** 'of prisoners,' as below, ch. 44; Sueton. *Tib.* 61, 'in recognoscendis custodiis.'

19. **suppeditante . . . luxuriae.** 'The promiscuousness of your profligacy supplying the occasions of incest.'

Imprimis filios exponitis suscipiendos ab aliqua praetereunte misericordia extranea, vel adoptandos melioribus parentibus emancipatis. Alienati generis necesse est quandoque memoriam dissipari; et semel error impegerit, exinde jam tradux proficiet incesti, serpente genere cum scelere. Tunc deinde quocumque in loco, domi, peregre, trans freta, comes est libido, cujus ubique saltus facile possunt alicubi ignaris filios pangere vel ex aliqua seminis portione; ut ita sparsum genus per commercia humana concurrat in memorias suas, neque eas coitus incesti sanguinis agnoscat. Nos ab isto eventu diligentissima et fidelissima castitas sepsit, quantumque ab stupris et ab omni post matrimonium excessu, tantum et ab incesti casu tuti sumus. Quidam multo securiores totam vim hujus erroris virgine continentia depellunt, senes pueri. Haec in vobis esse si consideraretis, proinde in Christianis non esse perspiceretis. Iidem oculi

2. **melioribus parentibus**: perhaps in both senses, morally and socially superior.

3. **emancipatis.** This is the technical legal term for the release of a son from the *patria potestas*, and for the formal surrender of all right of possession in a thing.

**Alienati**, 'discarded'; properly, in commercial terminology of property transferred to another by sale.

4. **semel error impegerit**, 'should a mistake once occur.'

**tradux**: lit. 'an offshoot of a vine trained for propagation,' here fig. for 'the transmission' of the incest. Comp. ch. 7.

9. **concurrat in memorias suas**: *i. e.* 'may unite with their own blood relatives'; *memorias*, alluding to the family likeness acting as a reminder, is here used of different descendants of the same father, unwittingly intermarrying. Comp. the old English use of 'memory' in 'As you like It,' ii. 3. 3, 'O you memory Of old Sir Rowland'!

11. **fidelissima castitas.** The chastity of the Christians was a fact boldly appealed to by the early apologists; see above, ch. 2; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 18; Origen *contr. Cels.* 1; Minuc. Fel. 31; Athan. *de Incarn.* 48.

13. **excessu.** See note, ch. 22.

14. **multo securiores**, 'far less troubled.'

**totam vim . . . depellunt**: a military metaphor; see note, ch. 24.

15. **senes pueri.** One of Tertullian's condensed epigrammatic phrases: 'in years old men, in innocence children.'

renuntiassent utrumque. Sed caecitatis duae species facile concurrunt, ut qui non vident quae sunt, videre videantur quae non sunt. Sic per omnia ostendam. Nunc de manifestioribus dicam.

## CAPUT X.

Deos, inquitis, non colitis, et pro imperatoribus sacrificia non impenditis. Sequitur ut eadem ratione pro aliis non sacrificemus, quia nec pro nobis ipsis, semel deos non colendo. Itaque sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. Summa haec caussa, imo tota est, et utique digna cognosci, si non prae-

6. **Deos, inquitis, non colitis.** Tertullian now takes up the two main charges brought against the Christians, Sacrilege and Disloyalty. The consideration of the first accusation occupies ch. 10–27; of the second ch. 28–38. The charge of sacrilege was based upon the grounds that the Christians neglected the prescribed worship of the gods, and that they had no temples or sacrifices: comp. Lactant. ii. 2; Min. Felix 10; and the sentence under which S. Cyprian was condemned, *Acta procons.* 4, 'diu sacrilega mente vixisti . . . et inimicum te diis Romanis et sacris legibus constituisti.'

7. **pro aliis non sacrificemus.** Tertullian is referring to sacrifices in the heathen conception of them: elsewhere he agrees with all the early Fathers in regarding the Holy Eucharist as the Christian Sacrifice: *de orat.* 19 *pass.*; *de cult. fem.* ii. 11, 'sacrificium offertur, aut Dei verbum administratur'; comp. Justin Mart. *dial. c. Tryph.* 41. See Sacrifice in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, and a suggestive chapter in Maclear's *Evidential value of H. Euch.*, Part i. ch. 3. pp. 45 ff.

9. **majestatis**: *sc.* laesae: ch. 28, 'laesae augustioris majestatis.' The early Roman law against treason (*perduellio*) had been extended in its application by various enactments until, in the time of Tiberius (when the sacredness, theoretically ascribed to the state, had become attached to the person of the emperor), any act which tended to bring the commonwealth, the laws, or the emperor into contempt was punishable under the charge of *majestas.* The professors of Christianity were liable under the Julian law of *majestas,* as members of an illicit combination; and, more obviously, as bad subjects who refused the customary acts which betokened loyalty to the emperor and compliance with the laws; see below, ch. 28: and on the law of treason, Merivale *Hist. Rom.* v. 247 ff.

**convenimur**: 'we are judicially accused'; this forensic use of *convenire* recurs frequently, *e.g.* ch. 28, 31, 35; *ad Nat.* i. 17.

10. **praesumptio**: lit. 'a hasty decision on insufficient evidence,'

sumptio aut iniquitas judicet, altera quae desperat, altera quae recusat veritatem. Deos vestros colere desinimus, ex quo illos non esse cognoscimus. Hoc igitur exigere debetis, uti probemus non esse illos deos, et idcirco non colendos, quia tunc demum coli debuissent, si dii fuissent. Tunc et Christiani puniendi, si quos non colerent, quia putarent non esse, constaret illos deos esse.

Sed nobis, inquitis, dii sunt. Appellamus et provocamus a vobis ipsis ad conscientiam vestram; illa nos judicet, illa nos condemnet, si poterit negare omnes istos deos vestros homines fuisse. Sed et ipsa inficias si ierit, de suis antiqui-

'prejudice'; and so used ch. 49: here in a similar way of the philosophic cynicism which asks 'Quid est veritas'? despairing of its accessibility. Comp. Min. Felix 1. *Praesumptio* became an ordinary term of reproach against the Christians like *dementia, obstinatio*, etc.; comp. *ad Nat.* i. 19; *de test. anim.* 4.

2. **Deos vestros colere desinimus.** Their consciousness of the falsity of the heathen gods impelled the Christians to go further and directly assail the worship of them: Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 5. Hence the popular outcry 'Tolle sacrilegos'! 'Christiani non sint'; Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. Mart. S. Polyc. 9; Euseb. iv. 15; comp. Acts xxii. 22. As early as Domitian's time Christians were denounced as 'atheists,' this being the specific indictment against Flavius Clemens and his wife, Dion Cass. lxvii. 14; and this charge is met with in Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, and Arnobius: see Gibbon ii. 225; and Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vii. 381, that it was 'the last refuge of declining Paganism, and showed a fear of Christianity which had never been excited by Judaism.'

5. **Tunc et**: introducing a logical sequence: 'and then it will follow, of course, that the Christians too must be punished, if . . .'

8. **Sed nobis, inquitis, dii sunt.** Tertullian anticipates and answers three pleas put forward by his opponents, of which this is the first. 'The gods are gods to *us*, though *you* may be indifferent to their claims.' It is taken up again ch. 13. Here Tertullian contents himself with an appeal to the heathen conscience to deny, if it can, that the pagan gods were originally mortal men. This leads up to the consideration of the second heathen plea in the next chapter.

**Appellamus et provocamus.** These are technical juridical terms for 'carrying an appeal to a higher court.' 'We protest and appeal from yourselves to your consciences.'

11. **inficias si ierit**: *inficias ire* in legal terminology = 'to contest a point at law,' 'to deny.'

**suis antiquitatum instrumentis.** The Euhemeristic theory that

tatum instrumentis revincetur, de quibus eos didicit, testimonium perhibentibus ad hodiernum et civitatibus, in quibus nati sunt, et regionibus, in quibus aliquid operati vestigia reliquerunt, in quibus etiam sepulti demonstrantur. Nec ego per singulos decurram, tot ac tantos, novos, veteres, barbaros, Graecos, Romanos, peregrinos, captivos, adoptivos, proprios, communes, masculos, feminas, rusticos, urbanos, nauticos, militares; otiosum est etiam titulos persequi, ut colligam in compendium, et hoc non quo cognoscatis, sed recognoscatis; certe enim oblitos agitis. Ante Saturnum deus penes vos nemo est, ab illo census totius vel potioris vel notioris divinitatis. Itaque quod de origine constiterit, id de posteritate conveniet. Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus, aut Thallus, neque Cassius Severus, aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator ejuscemodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt; si quantum rerum argumenta, nusquam invenio

the gods were deified men was often appealed to by Christian writers in their arguments against the pagan mythology: *e. g.* Min. Felix 21; Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 7; Clem. Alex. *Cohort.* 2, 4; Lactant. i. 11; Aug. *de civ. Dei* vi. 7; vii. 26; comp. Cicero *de nat. deor.* ii. 42, 'Ab Euhemero autem et mortes et sepulturae demonstrantur deorum.' From a pagan point of view the books of Euhemerus were sceptical and rationalistic, but their popularity was great, and Ennius translated them into Latin.

1. **testimonium perhibentes.** The technical legal phrase, 'to bear witness'; and so used S. John i. 8 (Vulg.), 'ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine'; v. 30 ff., *etc.*

8. **titulos.** See note, ch. 1.

10. **oblitos agitis.** Comp. ch. 37, 'hostes exsertos agere,' 'act the part of avowed enemies.'

11. **census**: see note, ch. 7.

13. **Saturnum itaque.** Min. Fel. 22; Lact. i. 13.

14. **Thallus.** See note, ch. 19.

15. **Cassius Severus.** Not Cassius Severus, the satirist and orator, who was banished by Augustus and died A.D. 33, but Lucius Cassius Hemina, a Roman annalist (*cir.* B.C. 140), who wrote a history of Rome from the earliest times to the end of the third Punic war.

**commentator**: a rare post-class. word, in general signifying 'contriver,' but Tertullian uses it again *de res. carn.* 33, in the sense of 'author.'

fideliora, quam apud ipsam Italiam, in qua Saturnus post multas expeditiones postque Attica hospitia consedit, exceptus a Jano, vel Jane, ut Salii volunt. Mons, quem incoluerat, Saturnius dictus; civitas, quam depalaverat, Saturnia usque nunc est; tota denique Italia, post Oenotriam, Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipso primum tabulae et imagine signatus nummus, et inde aerario praesidet. Tamen si homo Saturnus, utique ex homine, et quia ab homine non utique de caelo et terra. Sed cujus parentes ignoti erant, facile fuit eorum filium dici, quorum et omnes possumus videri. Quis enim non caelum et terram matrem et patrem venerationis et honoris gratia appellet, vel ex consuetudine humana, qua ignoti vel ex inopinato apparentes de caelo supervenisse dicuntur? Proinde Saturno repentino ubique caelitem contigit dici. Nam et terrae filios vulgus vocat, quorum genus incertum est. Taceo quod ita rudes tunc homines agebant, ut cujuslibet novi viri aspectu quasi divino commoverentur, quum hodie jam politi, quos ante paucos dies luctu publico mortuos sint confessi, in deos consecrent. Satis jam de Saturno, licet paucis. Etiam Jovem ostendemus tam hominem quam ex homine, et deinceps totum generis examen tam mortale quam seminis sui par.

2. **exceptus a Jano.** Aur. Vict. *orig. gent. Rom.* 3.

4. **depalaverat:** a late word; lit. 'to mark off with palings (*pali*),' and so 'to found,' 'establish.' The word recurs only Tert. *adv. Herm.* 29, 'depalans quodammodo mundum'; and *adv. Marc.* v. 6, 'depalatorem disciplinae divinae'; in both of which cases it is better connected with *depālare* than with *depălare* (from *palam*).

6. **imagine signatus nummus.** Isid. *Orig.* xvi. 17; Aur. Vict. *orig. gent. Rom.* 3.

9. **Sed cujus parentes.** Cf. Aur. Vict. *ib.* i. 2.

13. **apparentes de caelo supervenisse.** Comp. Acts xiv. 12; xxviii. 6. The expression is a proverbial one, taken from the theatrical contrivances, and answers to the Greek *οὐρανοπετεῖς*; comp. above, ch. 4, 'neque enim de caelo ruit.'

15. **terrae filios.** A proverbial mode of designating a man of unknown origin: Pers. vi. 59; Cicero *Att.* i. 13. 4.

19. **in deos consecrent:** referring to the apotheosis of the emperors.

## CAPUT XI.

Et quoniam, sicut illos homines fuisse non audetis negare, ita post mortem deos factos instituistis asseverare, caussas quae hoc exegerint retractemus. Imprimis quidem necesse est concedatis esse aliquem sublimiorem Deum et mancipem quemdam divinitatis, qui ex hominibus deos fecerit. Nam neque sibi illi potuissent sumere divinitatem, quam non habebant, nec alius praestare eam non habentibus, nisi qui proprie possidebat. Ceterum si nemo esset, qui deos faceret, frustra praesumitis deos factos auferendo factorem. Certe quidem si ipsi se facere potuissent, numquam homines fuissent, possidentes apud se scilicet melioris condicionis potestatem. Igitur si est qui faciat deos, revertor ad caussas examinandas faciendorum ex hominibus deorum, nec ullas invenio, nisi si ministeria et auxilia officiis divinis desideravit ille magnus Deus.

Primo indignum est, ut alicujus opera indigeret, et quidem mortui, quum dignius ab initio deum aliquem fecisset, qui mortui erat operam desideraturus. Sed nec operae locum video. Totum enim hoc mundi corpus sive innatum et infectum secundum Pythagoram, sive natum et factum secundum Platonem, semel utique in ista constructione dispositum et instructum et ordinatum cum omnis rationis gubernaculo inventum est. Imperfectum non potuit

2. **Et quoniam.** This is the second heathen plea: 'If our gods *were* men, they were deified after their death and are really gods now.' Tertullian disposes of this by showing that in that case there must be a *Deus deorum* greater than they, Who had power to make them gods. Yet, even so, no reason can be alleged for such action, which would imply imperfection in the original constitution of the universe.

4. **retractemus.** See note, ch. 25.

5. **mancipem**: a solitary instance of *manceps* in the sense of 'proprietor' = *qui proprie possidet*, below. Tertullian employs the word in the sense of *auctor* or *magister*, *de spect.* 10; *de idol.* 1.

19. **innatum et infectum**, *i. e.* spontaneously generated.

23. **Imperfectum non potuit esse.** The universe from its very

esse, quod perfecit omnia. Nihil Saturnum et Saturniam gentem exspectabat. Vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint, a primordio et pluvias de caelo ruisse, et sidera radiasse, et lumina floruisse, et tonitrua mugisse et ipsum Jovem, quae in manu ejus ponitis, fulmina timuisse; item omnem frugem ante Liberum et Cererem et Minervam, imo ante illum aliquem principem hominem de terra exuberasse, quia nihil continendo et sustinendo homini prospectum post hominem potuit inferri. Denique invenisse dicuntur necessaria ista vitae, non instituisse. Quod autem invenitur, fuit; et quod fuit, non ejus deputabitur, qui invenit, sed ejus qui instituit: erat enim, antequam inveniretur. Ceterum si propterea Liber deus, quod vitem demonstravit, male cum Lucullo actum est, qui primus cerasa ex Ponto Italiae promulgavit, quod non est propterea consecratus, ut novae frugis auctor, quia inventor et ostensor. Quamobrem si ab initio et instructa et certis exercendorum officiorum suorum rationibus dispensata universitas constitit, vacat ex hac parte caussa allegendae

first constitution perfectly discharged all its functions (*perfecit omnia*); and therefore needed not the intervention of the heathen gods to ensure its perfection. Comp. Arnob. i. 15.

4. **lumina floruisse**: 'the sun and moon have been bright'; chiefly a poetical use of *floreo*, found in Ennius and Lucretius. But Tertullian again *adv. Marc.* iv. 42, 'caelum luminibus floruisse.' Comp. Lucr. iv. 452, 'Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis.'

7. **continendo**: 'for the preservation,' *etc.*; comp. ch. 17, 'quibus continemur'; Arnob. ii. 21, 'quibus vita succingitur et continentur humana'; Lact. *de mort. pers.* 5, 'Dei regentis et continentis universa.'

9. **Denique invenisse dicuntur**: *sc.* dii. The fact that the gods are popularly said to have discovered those natural products with respect to which they exercise bounty, or with which they are associated, implies the preexistence of the objects discovered.

10. **Quod autem invenitur, fuit.** 'But what is discovered must already have existence.'

16. **ostensor**: a word of patristic latinity, a 'notifier,' or 'exhibitor.'

18. **vacat ex hac parte**: 'from this point of view there is no reason for electing men into the rank of gods'; see note, ch. 1. *Allegere in* is constantly used by Suetonius for election into some office or corporation.

humanitatis in divinitatem, quia quas illis stationes et potestates distribuistis, tam fuerunt ab initio, quam et fuissent, etiamsi deos istos non creassetis.

Sed convertimini ad caussam aliam, respondentes collationem divinitatis meritorum remunerandorum fuisse rationem. Et hinc concedetis, opinor, illum Deum deificum justitia praecellere, qui nec temere, nec indigne nec prodige tantum praemium dispensarit. Volo igitur merita recensere, an ejusmodi sint, ut illos in caelum extulerint, et non potius in imum tartarum demerserint, quem carcerem poenarum infernarum cum multis affirmatis. Illuc enim abstrudi solent impii quique in parentes, et in sorores incesti, et maritarum adulteri, et virginum raptores et puerorum contaminatores, et qui saeviunt, et qui occidunt, et qui furantur, et qui decipiunt, et quicumque similes sunt alicujus dei vestri, quem neminem integrum a crimine aut vitio probare poteritis, nisi hominem negaveritis. Atquin ut illos homines fuisse non potestis negare, etiam istae notae accedunt, quae nec deos postea factos credi permittunt. Si enim talibus vos puniendis praesidetis, si commercium, colloquium, convictum malorum et turpium probi quique respuitis, horum autem pares Deus ille majestatis suae consortio ascivit, quid ergo damnatis, quorum collegas adoratis? Suggillatio est in caelo vestra justitia. Deos facite criminosissimos quosque, ut placeatis diis vestris. Illorum est honor consecratio coae-

4. **Sed convertimini.** Third heathen plea: 'They were deified as a reward of their merits.' Tertullian replies that the impious crimes of which they were guilty rendered them worthy of anything but deification; while if certain virtues be conceded them, for the sake of argument, better men have been overlooked. Comp. Athanasius' use of the same argument, *contr. Gentes* 18.

11. **cum multis**: 'you with many others'; but the reading *cum vultis*, 'when you admit anything on the subject at all,' is preferable.

12. **solent**: 'are accustomed to be thrust'; *i. e.* by your writers who treat of the subject of future rewards and punishments.

23. **Suggillatio**: lit. 'a black and blue bruise,' and so 'an affront,' 'a gibe.' The verb occurs ch. 4, 39.

qualium. Sed ut omittam hujus indignitatis retractatum probi et integri et boni fuerint. Quot tamen potiores viros apud inferos reliquistis? aliquem de sapientia Socratem, de justitia Aristidem, de militia Themistoclem, de sublimitate Alexandrum, de felicitate Polycratem, de copia Croesum, de eloquentia Demosthenem? Quis ex illis diis vestris gravior et sapientior Catone, justior et militarior Scipione? quis sublimior Pompeio, felicior Sulla, copiosior Crasso, eloquentior Tullio? Quanto dignius istos deos ille assumendos exspectasset, praescius utique potiorum? Properavit, opinor, et caelum semel clusit, et nunc utique melioribus apud inferos mussitantibus erubescit.

## CAPUT XII.

CESSO jam de istis, ut qui sciam me ex ipsa veritate demonstraturum quid non sint, quum ostendero quid sint. Quantum igitur de diis vestris, nomina solummodo video quorundam veterum mortuorum, et fabulas audio, et sacra de fabulis recognosco; quantum autem de simulacris ipsis, nihil aliud deprehendo, quam materias sorores esse vascu-

2. **fuerint**: 'suppose they were . . .'

3. **de sapientia Socratem.** Plin. vii. 31; Val. Max. iii. 4; see below, ch. 46.

**de justitia Aristidem.** Aristides, so celebrated among the Greeks and especially at Athens for his justice and equity, that he received the cognomen ὁ δίκαιος. Plut. *vit. Arist.*

4. **militia**: 'military skill'; Florus iv. 5 uses the word for 'soldierly courage'; contrast its use by Tertullian above, ch. 9.

5. **de felicitate Polycratem.** Val. Max. vi. 9. 5.

6. **de eloquentia Demosthenem.** Val. Max. iv. 5; viii. 7.

7. **militarior Scipione.** Plin. vii. 27; see also *ib.* 26, 44, 30; ii. 54.

9. **Quanto dignius . . . ille**: *i. e.* 'sublimior deus et manceps divinitatis,' above.

17. **sacra de fabulis**: 'religious rites founded upon the fables.'

19. **materias sorores**: 'similar substances.' Comp. Isaiah xliv. ff. for the same satirical argument.

lorum instrumentorumque communium, vel ex iisdem vasculis et instrumentis quasi fatum consecratione mutantes, licentia artis transfigurante, et quidem contumeliosissime et in ipso opere sacrilege, ut revera nobis maxime, qui propter deos ipsos plectimur, solatium poenarum esse possit, quod eadem et ipsi patiuntur, ut fiant. Crucibus et stipitibus imponitis Christianos: quod simulacrum non prius argilla deformat cruci et stipiti superstructa? In patibulo primum corpus dei vestri dedicatur. Ungulis deraditis latera Christianorum; at in deos vestros per omnia membra validius incumbunt asciae, et runcinae, et scobinae. Cervices ponimus: ante plumbum et glutinum et gomphos sine capite sunt dii vestri. Ad bestias impellimur, certe quas Libero, et Cybele, et Caelesti applicatis. Ignibus urimur: hoc et illi a prima

6. **ut fiant**: 'in the process of their manufacture.'

**Crucibus et stipitibus**: with the methods of torture here mentioned comp. those in the passage ch. 30, 'sic itaque nos ad Deum expansos ungulae fodiant, cruces suspendant,' *etc.*; and *de pudic.* 22. For the barbarities of the Neronian persecution see Tacitus *Ann.* xv. 44, 'Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.' Comp. Euseb. v. 1 for the martyrdoms in Gaul under Marcus Aurelius; and viii. 13 for the Diocletian cruelties, A. D. 303: see the opening chapter of Bright's *History of the Church*, A. D. 313–451.

7. **argilla** = ἄργιλλος (ἀργής, *white*), 'white clay,' 'potter's earth,' 'argil.' The word occurs chiefly in writers on husbandry, *e. g.* Palladius and Columella; comp. Verg. *Georg.* ii. 180.

9. **dedicatur.** See note, ch. 5.

13. **Ad bestias . . . Libero,** *etc.* Bacchus, Cybele, and Caelestis were often represented in chariots drawn by lions, lynxes, and tigers; comp. Lucret. ii. 600; Verg. *Aen.* iii. 111 ff. Juno-Caelestis was worshipped at Carthage under the figure of a virgin carried to heaven by a lion; Apuleius *Metamorph.* 6, 'Magni Jovis germana et conjuga: sive tu Sami . . . tenes vetusta delubra, sive celsae Carthaginis, quae te virginem vectura leonis caelo commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas,' *etc.* On Christians thrown to the beasts comp. ch. 40.

14. **Caelesti.** See the Introduction, p. xi, and below, ch. 23, 24, where Tertullian indicates Caelestis as the national divinity of Africa. Comp. Augustine *Serm.* cvi. 12, 'Carthago in nomine Christi

quidem massa. In metalla damnamur: inde censentur dii vestri. In insulas relegamur: solet et in insulis aliquis deus vester aut nasci aut mori. Si per haec constat divinitas aliqua, ergo qui puniuntur consecrantur, et numina erunt dicenda supplicia. Sed plane non sentiunt has injurias et contumelias suae fabricationis dii vestri, sicut nec obsequia. O impiae voces, o sacrilega convicia! infrendite, inspumate! iidem estis, qui Senecam aliquem pluribus et amarioribus de vestra superstitione perorantem reprehendistis. Igitur si statuas et imagines frigidas mortuorum suorum simillimas non adoramus, quas milvi et mures et araneae intelligunt, nonne laudem magis, quam poenam, merebatur repudium agniti erroris? Possumus enim videri laedere eos, quos

manet et olim eversa est Caelestis; quia non fuit caelestis sed terrestris.' See Döllinger *Gent. and Jew* i. 438; Milman *Hist. Christ.* ii. 175.

1. **In metalla damnamur.** 'We are condemned to the mines: it is from thence that your gods derive their being'; see note on *census*, ch. 7; and below, ch. 29. The marble quarries of the Chersonese, and the mines in Sicily, Spain, Macedonia, and Arabia were frequently selected for the penal servitude of Christian confessors; Euseb. iv. 23, viii. 13; Mart. Polyc. 8; Cyprian. *Epist.* lxxvii, lxxx; Tertull. *de pall.* 3; *de cult. fem.* i. 5; comp. Lightfoot *Clem. Rom.* i. 290; and the Lit. of Apost. Constit. and of S. Mark in Hammond's *Liturgies*, pp. 9, 181.

2. **In insulas relegamur.** The islands round the shore of the Mediterranean were the usual places of banishment under the Roman empire; comp. ch. 1, 'in insulis Christianos,' and ch. 37.

3. **deus vester aut nasci aut mori**: *e.g.* Apollo and Diana in Delos; Juno in Samos; Jupiter in Crete; comp. ch. 29, 40.

5. **Sed plane non sentiunt.** Comp. ch. 25.

8. **Senecam**: in his book *de superstitione Romanorum*, which is referred to by August. *de civ. Dei* vi. 10.

**qui . . . reprehendistis.** This is of course ironical. One MS. reads *probetis*; others insert *non*; comp. ch. 46, 'Quin imo et deos vestros palam destruunt . . . laudantibus vobis.'

11. **quas milvi . . . intelligunt.** Min. Felix 24, more particularly, 'in ipso dei vestri ore nidificant. Araneae vero faciem ejus intexunt, et de ipso capite sua fila suspendunt.'

**intelligunt**, 'have an accurate knowledge of'; comp. ch. 30, 'et ita Deum intelligunt.'

certi sumus omnino non esse? Quod non est, nihil ab ullo patitur, quia non est.

## CAPUT XIII.

Sed nobis dii sunt, inquitis. Et quomodo vos e contrario impii et sacrilegi et irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, qui quos praesumitis esse, negligatis, quos timetis, destruatis, quos etiam vindicatis, illudatis? Recognoscite, si mentiar. Primo quidem, cum alii alios colitis, utique quos non colitis, offenditis. Praelatio alterius sine contumelia alterius non potest procedere, quia nec electio sine reprobatione. Jam ergo contemnitis quos reprobatis, quos reprobando offendere non timetis. Nam ut supra perstrinximus, status dei cujusque in senatus aestimatione pendebat. Deus non erat, quem homo consultus noluisset et nolendo damnasset. Domesticos deos, quos lares dicitis, domestica potestate tractatis pignerando, venditando, demutando aliquando in cacabulum de Saturno, aliquando in trullam de Minerva, ut quisque contritus atque contusus est, dum diu colitur, ut quisque dominus sanctiorem expertus est domesticam necessitatem. Publicos aeque publico jure foedatis, quos in hastario vectigales habetis. Sic Capitolium, sic

4. **Sed nobis dii sunt.** Tertullian resumes his consideration of the first heathen plea dealt with in ch. 10.

12. **ut supra perstrinximus.** Ch. 5.

17. **in trullam,** 'into a fire-pan'; Livy xxxvii. 11. 13, so uses the word; but in Juven. iii. 108, *trulla* = *trulleum*, 'a wash-basin.'

19. **ut quisque dominus,** *etc.*: 'as each master has found his domestic necessity more sacred'; *i. e.* religion was made to give way to domestic comfort. For *dominus* Cod. Fuld. reads *deum*.

21. **hastario,** 'an auction-catalogue'; *hastarium* was the list of revenues (*vectigalia*) which were put up for auction every five years and tendered for by the contractors; comp. *ad Nat.* i. 10.

**Capitolium.** The existence of a Capitol at Carthage has been proved by the discovery of an inscription which is given in Wilmanns, *Inscript. Afric. Lat.*, *C. I. L.* viii. 1013; see too viii. 1141, 2388. Comp. *de spect.* 8, and for the Capitoline triad of divinities worshipped

olitorium forum petitur; sub eadem voce praeconis, sub eadem hasta, sub eadem annotatione quaestoris divinitas addicta conducitur. Sed enim agri tributo onusti viliores, hominum capita stipendio censa ignobiliora; nam hae sunt notae captivitatis. Dii vero qui magis tributarii, magis sancti; imo qui magis sancti, magis tributarii. Majestas quaestuaria efficitur. Circuit cauponas religio mendicans. Exigitis mercedem pro solo templi, pro aditu sacri; non licet deos nosse gratis, venales sunt. Quid omnino ad honorandos eos facitis, quod non etiam mortüis vestris conferatis? aedes proinde, aras proinde. Idem habitus et insignia in statuis. Ut aetas, ut ars, ut negotium mortui fuit, ita deus est. Quo differt ab epulo Jovis silicernium? a simpulo obba? ab haruspice pollinctor? nam et haruspex mortuis apparet. Sed

at Carthage *de test. anim.* 2. The Carthaginian Capitol was built on the hill Byrsa, and the sanctuary included three shrines, contiguous yet isolated, each having its own priest; the central shrine being dedicated to Jupiter OP. MAX., and the two others to Juno (Tanit-Caelestis) and Minerva. So late as 429, after several imperial edicts for the destruction of idolatrous altars had been enforced, there still existed a place at Carthage which retained the name of the Capitol; Codex Theod. xi. 1. 32, 34 (Castan, *Le Capitole de Carthage*; see also the remarks quoted from the same paper in the Introduction).

1. **petitur**, 'is resorted to': it seems preferable not to strain this word to = *conducitur*, 'is taken on lease.'

2. **annotatione**: a legal term, 'the entering a criminal on the register'; here used for 'the entering up of the bids by the quaestor.'

3. **addicta conducitur**: two technical words of commerce: *addicta* = 'knocked down to the highest bidder.'

6. **Majestas quaestuaria efficitur.** 'Their very grandeur is turned into a source of money-making.'

13. **silicernium.** Properly, 'the funeral-feast of an old man.'

**a simpulo obba.** *Simpulum* = 'vas quo in sacrificiis vinum libabatur': obba = 'vas quo diis manibus vinum libabatur.' 'What is the difference,' Tertullian asks, 'between a feast of Jupiter and a feast at an old man's funeral? between the sacrificial bowl and the vessel with which libations are made to the dead'? and sarcastically hints that the similarity of rites in both cases points to a similarity of present condition in the god and the mortal.

14. **apparet**: 'is in attendance on,' 'ministers to'; so ch. 48, 'qui judicio Dei apparet'; *ad uxor.* i. 4. *Apparere* = *ministrare,* Cic. *de*

digne imperatoribus defunctis honorem divinitatis dicatis, quibus et viventibus eum addicitis. Accepto ferent dii vestri, imo gratulabuntur, quod pares eis fiant domini sui. Sed quum Larentinam, publicum scortum, velim saltem Laidem aut Phrynen, inter Junones et Cereres ac Dianas adoratis; quum Simonem Magum statua et inscriptione sancti dei inauguratis; quum de paedagogiis aulicis nescio quem synodi deum facitis: licet non nobiliores dii veteres, tamen contumeliam a vobis deputabunt, hoc et aliis licuisse, quod solis antiquitas contulit.

*leg.* ii. 8. 21, 'sacerdotes diis apparento.' Cp. the English use of 'apparitor.'

4. **Larentinam.** Laurentia or Larentina, the wife of Faustula, according to the myth, and nurse of Romulus; Liv. i. 4; Macrob. i. 10; Aul. Gell. vi. 7; Lact. i. 20. She is mentioned again contemptuously, ch. 25 (*bis*).

6. **Simonem Magum.** Cp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 34, 73; Iren. i. 20; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 13; Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* 6. The inscription is given by Justin: Simoni Deo Sancto. This statue, he says, 'stood by the Tiber between the two bridges.' At this very spot in 1574 the marble base of a statue was found, inscribed Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio Sacrum Sex. Pompeius, *etc.*; and the general opinion of critics has been that Justin confounded Semo, the Sabine Hercules (Ovid *Fasti* vi. 21), with Simon Magus (Vales. in Euseb. *l. c.*). Tillemont (II. i. 341), however, points out that the inscriptions are not identical, the words and order differing; that Justin states that the statue was set up by Claudius and the Senate, whereas that to Semo was erected by a private individual; and that Augustine, who knew of the Sabine Semo (*de civ. Dei* xviii. 19), confirms Justin's words (*Haer.* i. 6). Burton, also (*Bamp. Lect.* note 42; *Church Hist.* p. 175, 3rd ed.), argues the impossibility of Justin being mistaken. On the other hand, Prof. Salmon, in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* iv. 682, thinks 'the coincidence is too remarkable to admit of any other satisfactory explanation'; and believes that Justin was deceived by the Simonians in Rome.

7. **paedagogiis aulicis nescio quem**: 'some infamous court-page.' Tertullian is alluding to Antinous and the temple dedicated to him by Hadrian; cp. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 8; Origen *contr. Cels.* iii. 36; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 29; Spartian. *Hadr.* 14.

8. **synodi deum**: 'a god of the sacred synod'; *i.e.* not merely deified, but admitted into the higher rank of those gods termed σύνθρονοι. An ancient inscription runs thus: ΑΝΤΙΝΟΩ ΣΥΝΘΡΟΝΩ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩ ΘΕΩΝ, *etc.*; cp. Prudent. *contr. Symm.* i. 271.

## CAPUT XIV.

NOLO et ritus vestros recensere; non dico quales sitis in sacrificando, cum enecta et tabidosa et scabiosa quaeque mactatis; cum de opimis et integris supervacua quaeque truncatis, capitula et ungulas, quae domi quoque pueris vel canibus destinassetis; cum de decima Herculis nec tertiam partem in aram ejus imponitis. Laudo magis sapientiam, quod de perdito aliquid eripitis.

Sed conversus ad litteras vestras, quibus informamini ad prudentiam et ad liberalia officia, quanta invenio ludibria! deos inter se propter Trojanos et Achivos ut gladiatorum paria congressos depugnasse; Venerem humana sagitta sauciatam, quod filium suum Aenean paene interfectum ab eodem Diomede rapere vellet; Martem tredecim mensibus in vinculis paene consumptum; Jovem, ne eamdem vim a ceteris caelitibus experiretur, opera cujusdam monstri liberatum, et nunc flentem Sarpedonis casum, nunc foede subantem in sororem sub commemoratione non ita dilectarum jampridem amicarum! Exinde quis non poeta ex auctoritate principis sui dedecorator invenitur deorum? Hic Apollinem Admeto regi pascendis pecoribus addicit, ille Neptuni structorias operas Laomedonti locat. Est et illis de lyricis (Pindarum dico), qui Aesculapium canit avaritiae merito, qua medicinam nocenter exercebat, fulmine vindicatum. Malus Jupiter, si

2. **Nolo et ritus.** All the MSS. but one read *Volo* here; but *Nolo* seems required by the context, and is adopted by most edd.

19. **principis sui.** Homer. The passages alluded to in the preceding sentences will be found, Iliad xx. 66; v. 334, 385; i. 401; xvi. 433; xiv. 314.

20. **Hic Apollinem . . . ille Neptuni.** Eurip. *Alcest.* prol.; *Troad.* prol.

21. **structorias**: 'architectural'; a ἅπαξ λεγ.

22. **Pindarum.** *Pyth.* iii. 56; comp. Athenag. 29.

24. **fulmine vindicatum.** *Judicatum* is a preferable reading. *Nocenter* is equivalent to *adversus Jovis voluntatem*, Aesculapius having dared to restore the dead to life; see ch. 23.

fulmen illius est, impius in nepotem, invidus in artificem. Haec neque vera prodi, neque falsa confingi apud religiosissimos oportebat. Nec tragici quidem aut comici parcunt, ut non aerumnas vel errores domus alicujus dei praefentur. Taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem dejerabat. Sed propterea damnatus est Socrates, quia deos destruebat. Plane olim, id est semper, veritas odio est. Tamen cum paenitentia sententiae Athenienses et criminatores Socratis postea affixerint, et imaginem ejus auream in templo collocarint, rescissa damnatio testimonium Socrati reddidit. Sed et Diogenes nescio quid in Herculem ludit, et Romanus Cynicus Varro trecentos Joves, sive Jupiteres dicendum, sine capitibus introducit.

## CAPUT XV.

Cetera lasciviae ingenia etiam voluptatibus vestris per

4. **praefentur**: 'relate in their prologues.'

5. **Taceo de philosophis.** But see below, ch. 46.

**in contumeliam deorum.** Implying that these (*quercus et hircus et canis*) were superior to the gods; cp. August. *de vera rel.* 2; Lactant. iii. 20.

6. **Sed propterea.** Sc. *dicitis.* Tertullian anticipates the reply: 'Socrates was condemned for that very reason, because he undermined the authority of the gods.' The indictment against Socrates ran thus: Ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων, Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 1; Diogen. Laert. ii. 40.

9. **criminatores Socratis postea affixerint.** Anytus his chief accuser was banished, and Melitus stoned to death. Diog. Laert. ii. 43.

10. **imaginem auream.** Query, *aeream;* the statue was bronze, Diog. Laert. *l. c.* Σωκράτη δὲ χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἐτιμήσαντο.

11. **testimonium Socrati reddidit**: 'restored the validity of Socrates' testimony.' Contr. the use of *testimonium reddidit*, ch. 46, where it signifies 'bore testimony.'

16. **lasciviae ingenia**: 'ingenuities of wanton pleasure'; for this use of *ingenia* (= 'happy inventions,' 'clever thoughts') see below, ch. 49, 'insignia ingenia'; *de cult. fem.* i. 2, 'sine ingeniis decoris'; Plin.

deorum dedecus operantur. Dispicite Lentulorum et Hostiliorum venustates, utrum mimos an deos vestros in jocis et strophis rideatis: MOECHUM ANUBIM, et MASCULUM LUNAM, et DIANAM FLAGELLATAM, et JOVIS MORTUI TESTAMENTUM recitatum, et TRES HERCULES FAMELICOS irrisos. Sed et histrionum litterae omnem foeditatem eorum designant. Luget Sol filium jactatum de caelo, laetantibus vobis, et Cybele pastorem suspirat fastidiosum, non erubescentibus vobis. Et sustinetis Jovis elogia cantari, et Junonem, Venerem, Minervam a pastore judicari. Quid, quod imago dei vestri ignominiosum caput et famosum vestit? quod corpus impurum et ad istam artem effeminatione productum Minervam aliquam vel Herculem repraesentat? Nonne violatur majestas et divinitas constupratur plaudentibus vobis?

Plane religiosiores estis in cavea, ubi super sanguinem humanum, super inquinamenta poenarum proinde saltant dii vestri, argumenta et historias noxiis ministrantes, nisi quod et ipsos deos vestros saepe noxii induunt. Vidimus aliquando castratum Atyn, illum deum ex Pessinunte; et qui vivus ardebat, Herculem induerat. Risimus et inter ludicras

*Paneg.* 49, 'exquisita ingenia cenarum.' Cp. Arnob. iv. 2; vi. 13. In ch. 25, 'ingenia fingendis simulacris' = 'the talent of the Greeks and Tuscans in fashioning images.'

1. **Lentulorum et Hostiliorum.** Farce-writers; cp. *de pall.* 4, 'meritoque mimographo Lentulo in Catinensibus commemoratus.' *Venustates* = 'elegancies,' 'choice passages.'

3. **strophis.** In its later sense, 'tricks'; cp. *de Spect.* 29; Jerom. in Ruf. iii. 14; Senec. *Epp.* 26. 5.

**Anubim.** See note, ch. 6.

4. **Dianam flagellatam.** Hom. *Iliad* xxi. 489 ff.

5. **Hercules famelicos.** Jests on Hercules' gluttony were very common; cp. Eurip. *Alc.* 747 ff.

7. **filium jactatum.** Phaethon.

8. **pastorem.** Atys.

**suspirat**: 'sighs for'; cp. Juven. xi. 152; Tert. *de cult. fem.* i 2; ii. 6.

10. **Minervam a pastore.** Paris.

19. **induunt**: 'assume the part of'; as Tacit. *Ann.* xvi. 28, 'hostem Thrasea induisset.'

meridianorum crudelitates Mercurium mortuos cauterio examinantem. Vidimus et Jovis fratrem gladiatorum cadavera cum malleo deducentem. Singula ista quaeque adhuc investigare quis possit? Si honorem inquietant divinitatis, si majestatis vestigia obsoletant, de contemptu utique censentur, tam eorum qui ejusmodi factitant, quam eorum quibus factitant.

Sed ludicra ista sunt. Ceterum si adjiciam, quae non minus conscientiae omnium recognoscent, in templis adulteria componi, inter aras lenocinia tractari, in ipsis plerumque aedituorum et sacerdotum tabernaculis, sub iisdem vittis et apicibus et purpuris, ture flagrante libidinem expungi: nescio, plusne de vobis dii vestri, quam de Christianis querantur. Certe sacrilegi de vestris semper apprehenduntur. Christiani enim templa nec interdiu norunt; spoliarent forsitan ea et ipsi, si et ipsi ea adorarent. Quid ergo colunt, qui talia non colunt? Jam quidem intelligi subjacet veritatis esse cultores, qui mendacii non sint: nec errare am-

1. **meridianorum.** Sc. *gladiatorum;* cp. Seneca *Epp.* 7. The combatants who survived the morning's encounter fought at noon to the death.

**cauterio**: 'a branding-iron'; but Tertullian uses it *adv. Herm.* 1, of the instrument employed to burn in the wax in encaustic painting, such as is described by Vitruvius vii. 91; Plin. xxxv. 2.

2. **Jovis fratrem.** Pluto.

5. **obsoletant.** A word confined to patristic latinity: it recurs *Scorp.* 6, 'qui vestitum obsoletassent nuptialem.' The parallel passage *ad Nat.* i. 10 reads 'si majestatis fastigium adsolant.'

10. **tabernaculis.** In technical relig. terminology *tabernaculum* = the sacred tent pitched outside the city whence the auspices were taken previous to the elections.

11. **libidinem expungi.** See note, ch. 2; cp. Sueton. *Tib.* 44.

13. **Certe sacrilegi de vestris.** Cp. *ad Scap.* 2, 'Tamen nos quos sacrilegos existimatis, nec in furto unquam deprehendistis, nedum in sacrilegio. Omnes autem qui templa despoliant, et per deos jurant, et eosdem colunt, et Christiani non sunt, et sacrilegi tamen deprehenduntur.'

14. **Christiani templa nec interdiu norunt.** Cp. ch. 37, 'sola vobis reliquimus templa.'

16. **intelligi subjacet.** A late Latin use, 'it lies within easy reach of the apprehension'; cp. the use of ὑπόκειται νοεῖν.

17. **nec errare amplius in eo.** 'Nor are they any longer mistaken

plius in eo, in quo errasse se recognoscendo cessaverint. Hoc prius capite, et omnem hinc sacramenti nostri ordinem haurite, repercussis ante tamen opinionibus falsis.

## CAPUT XVI.

NAM, ut quidam, somniastis caput asininum esse deum nostrum. Hanc Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem ejusmodi inseruit. Is enim in quinta Historiarum suarum bellum Judaicum exorsus ab origine gentis, etiam de ipsa tam origine, quam de nomine et religione gentis quae voluit argumentatus, Judaeos refert Aegypto expeditos, sive, ut putavit, extorres, in vastis Arabiae locis aquarum egentissimis, cum siti macerarentur, onagris, qui forte de pastu potum petituri aestimabantur, indicibus fontis usos ob eam gratiam consimilis bestiae superficiem consecrasse. Atque ita inde, opinor, praesumptum, nos quoque ut Judaicae religionis propinquos, eidem simulacro initiari. At enim idem Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille mendaciorum loquacissimus, in

with respect to those things about which they ceased to be mistaken in the very act of recognizing that they had been so.'

2. **sacramenti nostri.** See note on *sacramentum*, ch. 7.

5. **Nam, ut quidam,** *etc.* In this chapter, before proceeding to set forth the real nature of the Christians' belief, ch. 17, Tertullian disposes of four calumnious reports commonly circulated concerning the Christian Deity.

**caput asininum.** 1. Worship of an ass's head: *ad Nat.* i. 10; cp. Min. Felix 9. 28, where the same report is mentioned by Caecilius and refuted in a similar manner by Octavius.

6. **Cornelius Tacitus.** Hist. v. 3, 4, 'Adsensere atque omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt. Sed nihil aeque quam inopia aquae fatigabat. Jamque haud procul exitio, totis campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in rupem nemore opacam concessit. Secutus Moyses, conjectura herbidi soli, largas aquarum venas aperit . . . Effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere.'

14. **superficiem** = *caput*, by an extraordinary use of the word.

15. **Judaicae religionis propinquos.** Cp. *de test. anim.* 5, 'Judaeos . . . in quorum [olea ex] oleastro insiti sumus.' The Christians were constantly being confused with the Jews by the undiscriminating heathen: Dion Cass. lxvii. 14; lxviii. 1; Sueton. *Claud.* 25; cp. Just. Mart. *dial. c. Tryph.* 17.

eadem historia refert Cnaeum Pompeium, cum Hierusalem cepisset, proptereaque templum adiisset speculandis Judaicae religionis arcanis, nullum illic reperisse simulacrum. Et utique si id colebatur, quod aliqua effigie repraesentabatur, nusquam magis quam in sacrario suo exhiberetur, eo magis, quia nec verebatur extraneos arbitros quanquam vana cultura. Solis enim sacerdotibus adire licitum, et conspectus ceterorum velo oppanso interdicebatur. Vos tamen non negabitis, et jumenta omnia et totos cantherios cum sua Epona coli a vobis. Hoc forsitan improbamur, quod inter cultores omnium pecudum bestiarumque, asinarii tantum sumus.

Sed et qui crucis nos religiosos putat, consecraneus noster erit. Cum lignum aliquod propitiatur, viderit habitus, dum

1. **Cnaeum Pompeium.** Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9, 'Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judaeos domuit: templumque jure victoriae ingressus est. Inde vulgatum, nulla intus deorum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana.'

6. **extraneos arbitros**: 'outsiders as witnesses.'

8. **oppanso.** From this verb comes the patristic latin subst. *oppansum*, 'an envelope,' 'covering': cp. *de anim.* 53, 'de oppanso corporis erumpit in apertum.'

9. **totos cantherios**: 'whole mules,' and not merely a part of the animal.

**Epona.** The protecting goddess of horses, asses, *etc.* Cp. Juven. viii. 157; Apul. *Met.* ii. 60.

11. **asinarii** = *cultores asini.*

12. **qui crucis nos religiosos putat.** 2. Worship of the Cross. Cp. *ad Nat.* i. 12; Min. Fel. 29. The great reverence ever felt by Christians for the symbol of salvation easily lent itself to the misconception of the heathen, who imagined that the material cross was to the Christians what their own idols were to themselves. Tertullian contents himself with a conditional *tu quoque;* Minucius Felix *l. c.* is more direct: 'cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus.' On the virtue ascribed to the sign and its frequent use see an important passage *de coron.* 3; S. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* xiii. 36; S. Athan. *de Incarn.* 47, 48; S. John Damasc. *de fide orthod.* iv. 11.

**religiosos**: 'devotees of,' 'religiously considerate of.'

**consecraneus noster**: 'our fellow-devotee,' 'co-worshipper'; a rare word, lit. 'one united with another in worship by the same *sacramentum.*'

13. **viderit.** Lit. 'let it look to itself'; = *nihil refert, nihil conducit ad rem:* 'no matter what the appearance so long as the quality of

materiae qualitas eadem sit; viderit forma, dum id ipsum dei corpus sit. Et tamen quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica, et Ceres Pharia, quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostat? Pars crucis est omne robur, quod erecta statione defigitur; nos, si forte, integrum et totum deum colimus. Diximus originem deorum vestrorum a plastis de cruce induci. Sed et Victorias adoratis, cum in tropaeis cruces intestina sint tropaeorum. Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus diis praeponit. Omnes illi imaginum suggestus in signis monilia crucum sunt. Siphara illa vexillorum et cantabrorum stolae crucum sunt. Laudo diligentiam, noluistis nudas et incultas cruces consecrare.

Alii plane humanius et verisimilius Solem credunt deum nostrum. Ad Persas, si forte, deputabimur (licet solem non in linteo depictum adoremus) habentes ipsum ubique in suo clipeo. Denique inde suspicio, quod innotuerit nos ad orientis regionem precari. Sed et plerique vestrum affecta-

material is the same.' The expression is a common one in Tertullian; cp. ch. 25, 'Viderit Cybele'; *adv. Herm.* 1, 'sed viderit persona cum doctrina mihi quaestio sit'; *adv. Valentin.* 6, 'viderit soloecismus'; *de virg. vel.* 7; *de idol.* 11.

5. si forte: 'if at all'; and so below, and ch. 41: cp. 'si utique,' ch. 49.

10. **illi imaginum suggestus**: 'all those crests of images on the standards are necklaces of crosses'; the gold and silver images of the emperors and gods which were fixed round the tops of standards.

11. **Siphara** = *siparia*, 'small hangings' or curtains attached to the banners and standards (*cantabra*).

14. **Solem credunt deum nostrum.** 3. Worship of the Sun. Cp. *ad Nat.* i. 13.

16. **in linteo depictum.** Cp. Vopisc. *Aurel.* 5, 'data est ei praeterea, cum legatus ad Persas isset, patera, qualis solet imperatoribus dari a rege Persarum, in qua insculptus erat Sol eo habitu quo colebatur,' *etc.*

**in suo clipeo**: *i.e.* the vault of heaven; cp. Ovid *Met.* i. 110; xiii. 291; Hom. *Iliad* xviii. 481 ff.

17. **ad orientis regionem precari.** This custom was almost universal in the early Church. The east, as the region of light, was considered to be symbolic of Christ the Sun of Righteousness, the Dayspring who brought light to the world which lay in darkness. Cp. Apost. Const. ii. 57; S. Aug. *de serm. Dom.* ii. 5, 'quam ad orationes

tione aliquando et caelestia adorandi ad solis ortum labia vibratis. Aeque si diem solis laetitiae indulgemus, alia longe ratione quam de religione solis, secundo loco ab eis sumus, qui diem Saturni otio et victui decernunt, exorbitantes et ipsi a Judaico more, quem ignorant.

Sed nova jam dei nostri in ista civitate proxime editio publicata est, ex quo quidam in frustrandis bestiis mercenarius noxius picturam proposuit cum ejusmodi inscriptione: DEUS CHRISTIANORUM ΟΝΟΚΟΙΤΗΣ.

stamus, ad orientem convertimus, unde caelum surgit.' See Bingham *Eccl. Ant.* xiii. 8. 15.

2. **diem solis laetitiae.** On the observance of Sunday, *Dies solis*, *Dies Dominica*, as a day of joy and festival, see Bingham, xx. 2. 1.

4. **exorbitantes et ipsi.** See note, ch. 6.

5. **a Judaico more.** The parallel passage *ad Nat.* i. 13, 'quod quidem facitis exorbitantes et ipsi a vestris ad alienas religiones. Judaei enim festi, Sabbata et cena pura . . . quae utique aliena sunt a diis vestris,' implies that the pagans deviated from their own religious customs and assimilated themselves to the Jewish rites in respect of the observance of Saturday. The point lies in 'otio et victui decernunt,' 'they devote the day to idleness and feasting, themselves also deviating from the Judaic practice, which they misunderstand'; for the Jews consecrated that day to rest and prayer accompanied by certain peculiar rites.

6. **Sed nova jam dei nostri.** 4. Worship of the Ass-born Deity. Comp. *ad Nat.* i. 14.

**editio** = *repraesentatio.*

7. **in frustrandis bestiis,** 'whilst disappointing the beasts,' *i. e.* eluding their attacks; *frustrandis* referring to the feints and artifices employed by the *bestiarii* in their combat with the animals.

**mercenarius noxius**: *i. e.* one who, though not himself a criminal, hired himself to fight amongst the criminals with the beasts in the arena; comp. note, ch. 9. In the parallel passage *ad Nat.* i. 14 he is described as 'quidam perditissimus . . . etiam suae religionis desertor, solo detrimento cutis Judaeus.'

9. **Deus Christianorum ΟΝΟΚΟΙΤΗΣ.** 'The God of the Christians conceived of an ass'; the discovery of a caricature and inscription, dating from the end of the second century, on the cement of a chamber-wall on the Palatine at Rome in 1856, illustrates this heathen scoff. It represents the figure of a man with an ass's head stretched upon a cross, and near him a person in the attitude of prayer, with a legend ΑΛΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΕΤΕ ΘΕΟΝ. The origin of the slander has not been satisfactorily accounted for. See ASINARII in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*;

Is erat auribus asininis, altero pede ungulatus, librum gestans, et togatus. Risimus et nomen et formam. Sed illi debebant adorare statim biforme numen, quia et canino et leonino capite commistos, et de capro et de ariete cornutos, et a lumbis hircos, et a cruribus serpentes, et planta vel tergo alites deos receperunt. Haec ex abundanti, ne quid rumoris irrepercussum quasi de conscientia praeterissemus. Quae omnia, conversi jam ad demonstrationem religionis nostrae, repurgavimus.

## CAPUT XVII.

QUOD colimus [nos], Deus unus est; qui totam molem istam cum omni instrumento elementorum, corporum, spirituum, verbo, quo jussit, ratione, qua disposuit, virtute, qua potuit, de nihilo expressit, in ornamentum majestatis suae: unde et Graeci nomen mundo κόσμον accomodaverunt. Invisibilis est, etsi videatur; incomprehensibilis, etsi per gratiam repraesentetur; inaestimabilis, etsi humanis sensibus

and the article *Calomnies contre les prem. Chrét.* in Martigny's *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.*, where a woodcut of the graffito is given. Another theory, however, would explain this representation as a Gnostic symbol. King *Gnostics and their Remains* p. 230.

6. **Haec ex abundanti.** 'We have treated the matter at length, lest . . .'

11. **Quod colimus [nos], Deus unus est.** The Creed implicitly underlying this and the following chapters should be compared with the Rule of Faith given *de praescr. haer.* 13; *adv. Prax.* 2; *de virg. vel.* 1. Comp. Iren. *contr. haer.* i. 10; and see note, ch. 47.

15. **unde et Graeci nomen mundo κόσμον**: κόσμος was first applied to the Universe by Pythagoras, because of its perfect order and arrangement, in opposition to the *indigesta moles* of Chaos.

16. **incomprehensibilis**: here and in ch. 48, in its literal sense, 'that cannot be touched'; so *comprehendi* below, as explained by *manibus quibus contaminatur.*

**per gratiam repraesentetur,** 'manifested through grace'; *i. e.* through His gracious revelation of Himself. *Repraesentari* here = *revelari, manifestari*; in the preceding chapter it is used in the more general sense of a material representation or image. In late Latin it bears the meaning attached to our use of 'represent,' = 'stand in the

aestimetur; ideo verus et tantus est. Ceterum quod videri communiter, quod comprehendi, quod aestimari potest, minus est et oculis quibus occupatur, et manibus quibus contaminatur, et sensibus quibus invenitur. Quod vero immensum est, soli sibi notum est. Hoc est quod Deum aestimari facit, dum aestimari non capit. Ita eum vis magnitudinis et notum hominibus objicit et ignotum. Et haec est summa delicti nolentium recognoscere, quem ignorare non possunt. Vultis ex operibus ipsius tot ac talibus, quibus continemur, quibus sustinemur, quibus oblectamur, etiam quibus exterremur, vultis ex animae ipsius testimonio comprobemus? Quae licet carcere corporis pressa, licet institutionibus pravis circumscripta, licet libidinibus ac concupiscentiis evigorata, licet falsis diis exancillata, cum tamen resipiscit, ut ex crapula, ut ex somno, ut ex aliqua valetudine, et sanitatem suam patitur,

place of'; *e.g.* S. Greg. Mag. *Epp.* i. 1. The adjective *repraesentaneus* occurs as a *var. lect.* in ch. 28, see note.

4. immensum, 'immeasurable,' 'infinite.' Comp. Cicero *de nat. deor.* i. 10. 26, 'Post Anaximenes aëra deum statuit, eumque gigni esseque immensum et infinitum et semper in motu.' The Latin translator of the Shepherd (*Mand.* 1) renders μόνος δὲ ἀχώρητος ὢν by *solus immensus est.* So the *Quicunque*, 'Immensus Pater, immensus Filius,' *etc.* Iren. iv. 20. 2.

6. dum aestimari non capit: 'although He does not admit of being estimated'; comp. *de cult. fem.* i. 2, 'Haec non capit aestimare'; *adv. Marc.* i. 6, 'si depretiari capit in Creatore'; and the use of *capere adv. Herm.* 11; *adv. Prax.* 7; *adv. Marc.* iv. 16. On the ineffableness of God see August. *de Trin.* v. 10; vii. 7, 'Verius enim cogitatur Deus quam dicitur, et verius est quam cogitatur.'

7. Et haec est summa delicti. Comp. Rom. i. 20, 21; S. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 9.

9. Vultis ex operibus. The testimony of Nature to God: comp. *de test. an.* 6. The witness of the Soul is next referred to, and that of Revelation in ch. 18.

quibus continemur. See note, ch. 11.

11. ex animae ipsius testimonio. The whole treatise 'De Testimonio Animae' is an expansion of the argument here. It was written soon after the Apology, and contains a reference (ch. 5) to the argument for the antiquity of the Scriptures in ch. 19, below.

13. evigorata, 'enervated'; comp. *de pall.* 4, 'mollitas et evigoratas et exeduratas.'

14. exancillata, 'enslaved to'; a ἅπαξ λεγ.

resipiscit, 'when it comes to itself,' 'recovers its senses.'

DEUM nominat, hoc solo nomine, quia proprio Dei veri: Deus magnus, deus bonus, et quod deus dederit, omnium vox est. Judicem quoque contestatur illum, deus videt, et deo commendo, et deus mihi reddet. O testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae! Denique pronuntians haec, non ad Capitolium, sed ad caelum respicit. Novit enim sedem Dei vivi; ab illo et inde descendit.

## CAPUT XVIII.

Sed quo plenius et impressius tam ipsum dispositiones ejus et voluntates adiremus, instrumentum adjecit litteraturae, si qui velit de Deo inquirere, et inquisito invenire, et invento, credere, et credito deservire. Viros enim justitia et innocentia dignos Deum nosse et ostendere a primordio in saeculum emisit spiritu divino inundatos, quo praedicarent Deum unicum esse, qui universa condiderit, qui hominem de humo struxerit; hic enim est verus Prometheus; qui saeculum

2. **Deus magnus,** *etc.* These expressions are termed 'ingenitae conscientiae tacita commissa,' *de test. anim.* 5; comp. *de virg. vel.* 5, 'Hinc ergo tacita conscientia naturae, ipsa divinitas animae in usum sermonis eduxit,' *etc.* S. Cyprian has the same argument *de idol. van.* 9, 'Nam et vulgus in multis Deum naturaliter confitetur,' *etc.*; Minuc. Fel. 5; Arnob. ii. 2.

4. **O testimonium animae.** Comp. *de test. anim.* 1, 'Novum testimonium advoco . . . consiste in medio, anima,' *etc.*; *de coron.* 6; *de res. carn.* 3. This is a very memorable argument, characteristic of Tertullian's school of apology, drawn from the inner depths of conscious moral being. The peculiar aim of Tertullian is to ennoble the simple human conscience, and at the same time to discard all extraneous mental culture. See the remarks in the Introduction, page xviii, and Pressensé *Early Years of Christianity* ii. 593 ff.

7. **ab illo et inde descendit:** 'from Him and from thence (*a caelo*) it descended'; comp. *de anim.* 23, 24.

10. **litteraturae:** not 'learning,' 'erudition,' as in *de spect.* 18, but =*Scripturae.* In ch. 19 *instrumenta* is used alone for the sacred documents; comp. ch. 47, *vetus instrumentum,* 'The Old Testament'; and *adv. Marc.* iv. 1, 'alterum alterius instrumenti vel (quod magis usui est dicere) testamenti.'

14. **spiritu divino inundatos.** Comp. S. Cypr. *Ep.* 1, 'tantum gratiae inundantis haurimus'; Isai. xliv. 3; Joel ii. 28; Acts xvii. 18.

16. **Prometheus:** referring to the legend that Prometheus had

certis temporum dispositionibus et exitibus ordinaverit; exinde qui signa majestatis suae judicantis ediderit per imbres, per ignes; qui demerendo sibi disciplinas determinaverit, quas ignoratis aut deseritis; sed et observantibus praemia destinarit, ut qui prodacto aevo isto judicaturus sit suos cultores in vitae aeternae retributionem, profanos in ignem aeque perpetem et jugem, suscitatis omnibus ab initio defunctis, et reformatis et recensitis, ad utriusque meriti dispunctionem.

Haec et nos risimus aliquando. De vestris fuimus; fiunt,

created man out of earth and water either at the beginning, or after the flood of Deucalion. See *de carn. Chr.* 9; and comp. Hor. *Carm.* i. 16. 13.

**saeculum.** This word varies in its exact signification; here it means the allotted space of time for the world's existence; so ch. 20, 'mundum, saeculum, exitus'; ch. 21, 'curriculis saeculi,' and 'concludendo saeculi'; and ch. 26 and 32. Above, it = *mundum, hoc saeculum*; and so frequently. See note, ch. 19 *frag.* In ch. 19, *saeculis vincit* = 'surpasses by centuries.'

1. **temporum,** 'seasons'; and so ch. 20, 'officio temporum'; but in ch. 26 (where *corpus temporum* is in apposition with *saeculum*), it denotes the events of time, *eventa*, or *res temporis*, as Lucr. i. 456 ff.

2. **per imbres, per ignes:** *i. e.* the Deluge and Destruction of the Cities of the Plain, which are similarly joined together 2 Pet. ii. 5, 6.

3. **demerendo sibi:** 'by keeping which His favour might be obtained.'

5. **prodacto aevo isto:** comp. ch. 48, 'in nihilum prodegerit.' *Aevum* is here synonymous with *saeculum* as used above; but in ch. 48 it denotes the whole course of existence from the moment of creation onwards eternally; see note.

8. **dispunctionem:** lit. 'a balancing of accounts, setting off the debits and credits against each other,' in mercantile and late Latin. So ch. 37, 'malum malo dispungi'; *adv. Marc.* v. 12, 'dispunctionem boni ac mali operis'; comp. below, ch. 44, 'qui sententiis elogia dispungitis,' *i. e.* 'who check off and balance the criminal charge-sheet by the infliction of appropriate sentences'; and the fragment printed in ch. 19, 'dispunctio quotidiana,' 'the daily fulfilment of some prophecy.' Both substantive and verb are frequent in Tertullian: *dispunctio vitae* is used metaphorically of death, *de test. anim.* 4; *de anim.* 33: for the verb see below, ch. 45; *de anim.* 33; *adv. Jud.* 9; *de exhort. cast.* 2; *de res. carn.* 58; *adv. Marc.* iii. 23; iv. 22. Comp. Seneca *de brev. vit.* 7, 'dispunge et recense vitae tuae dies.'

9. **Haec et nos risimus aliquando.** Tertullian's parents were heathens; see *de paenit.* 1, 'hoc genus hominum, quod et ipsi retro

non nascuntur Christiani. Quos diximus praedicatores, prophetae de officio praefandi vocantur. Voces eorum itemque virtutes, quas ad fidem divinitatis edebant, in thesauris litterarum manent, nec istae nunc latent. Ptolemaeorum eruditissimus, quem Philadelphum supernominant, et omnis litteraturae sagacissimus, cum studio bibliothecarum Pisistratum, opinor, aemularetur, inter cetera memoriarum, quibus aut vetustas aut curiositas aliqua ad famam patrocinabatur, ex suggestu Demetrii Phalerei grammaticorum tunc probatissimi, cui praefecturam mandaverat, libros a Judaeis quoque postulavit, proprias [scilicet] atque vernaculas litteras, quas soli habebant. Ex ipsis enim et ad ipsos semper prophetae peroraverant, scilicet ad domesticam Dei gentem ex patrum gratia. Hebraei retro, qui nunc Judaei; igitur et litterae Hebraeae, et eloquium. Sed ne notitia vacaret, hoc quoque Ptolemaeo a Judaeis subscriptum est, septuaginta et

fuimus, caeci, sine Domini lumine,' *etc.*; *de spect.* 19; *ad Nat.* i. 10. Similarly Octavius in the dialogue of Minucius Felix admits his own former prejudices against Christianity (ch. 29).

**fiunt non nascuntur**: comp. *de test. anim.* 1, 'Non es, quod sciam, Christiana; fieri enim, non nasci solet Christiana'; S. August. *de pecc. mer.* iii. 9, 'Christianos non facit generatio sed regeneratio'; S. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* i. 2.

3. **virtutes** = *miracula*, *δυνάμεις*.

7. **inter cetera memoriarum**: 'amongst other records which their antiquity or curiousness rendered famous.' See note on *curiositas*, ch. 25.

9. **ex suggestu**, 'at the instigation of'; a very rare and late signification of the word; so the verb, ch. 25, 'ut suggessimus'; ch. 27, 'unde talia suggerantur'; and ch. 33, 'suggeritur enim ei a tergo,' 'He is admonished from behind.' Elsewhere *suggestus* bears its usual meaning of an 'elevation' or 'ornamental decoration'; as above, ch. 16; *adv. Herm.* 16; but in *de spect.* 7, 12, it = *apparatus*.

10. **praefecturam**, 'the superintendence' of the collection.

11. **vernaculas litteras**: *i. e.* in the classical Hebrew, not the later Aramaic.

15. **Sed ne notitia vacaret**, 'to guard against misapprehension'; see note, ch. 1.

16. **subscriptum est**, 'was allowed'; see note, ch. 6.

**septuaginta et duobus.** The story of the seventy elders, in separate cells, inspired to a verbal agreement in translation, related by

duobus interpretibus indultis, quos Menedemus quoque philosophus providentiae vindex de sententiae communione suspexit. Affirmavit haec vobis etiam Aristaeas. Ita in Graecum stylum ex aperto monumenta reliquit. Hodie apud Serapeum Ptolemaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur. Sed et Judaei palam lectitant; vectigalis libertas vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus. Qui audierit, inveniet Deum; qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere.

Irenaeus iii. 24 (comp. Euseb. v. 8; Epiphan. *de pond. et mens.* 3 ff.; August. *de doctr. Chr.* iv. 15) is dismissed by Jerome, *praef. ad Pent.* 1, who refers to Aristaeas and Josephus. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xii. 2, shows that six interpreters were chosen from each tribe and sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria in response to the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that after conference and comparison the law was translated in seventy-two days. Comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 22.

1. **Menedemus.** A philosopher of the Megarian school: Diog. Laert. ii. 125.

2. **de sententiae communione,** 'on account of their agreement in opinion with himself,' respecting a Providence. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xii. 2. 13.

3. **suspexit,** 'regarded with esteem'; and so ch. 24, 32, 33: comp. Cicero *de officiis* ii. 10, where it is opposed to *despicere*; Arnob. vii. 11.

**Aristaeas.** The extant letter of Aristaeas (*apud* Hody *de LXX interp.*) to his brother Philocrates, is regarded as spurious.

4. **reliquit.** *Sc.* Ptolemaeus.

**Hodie apud Serapeum.** Theod. *H. E.* v. 32; Ammian. Marc. xxii. 16, 'In quo bibliothecae fuerunt inaestimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum millia, Ptolemaeis regibus vigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino . . . conflagrasse.'

6. **vectigalis libertas:** 'a taxed liberty.' Judaism was a *religio licita*, liberty of worship being secured to them by their payment of a tax imposed by Vespasian after the destruction of Jerusalem. This tribute was the didrachma or half-shekel, originally devoted to the service of the temple, but was transferred to the worship of Jupiter on the Capitol; Dion Cass. lxvi. 7; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 6; cp. Sueton. *Dom.* 12. Tertullian inveighs against a purchased immunity from persecution in *de fuga in pers.* 12.

7. **vulgo aditur sabbatis omnibus.** The Jewish scriptures were read in the synagogues on the sabbath according to a fixed lectionary, which provided passages from the Law and the Prophets; cp. S. Luke iv. 16 ff.; and Wordsworth's notes, Acts xiii. 15; xv. 21.

## CAPUT XIX.

Primam igitur instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat. Apud vos quoque religionis est instar, fidem de temporibus asserere.

[Primus enim prophetes Moyses, qui mundi conditionem et generis humani pullulationem et mox ultricem iniquitatis illius aevi vim cataclysmi de praeterito exorsus est, per vaticinationem usque ad suam aetatem et deinceps per res suas futurorum imagines edidit, penes quem et temporum ordo digestus ab initio supputationem saeculi praestitit: superior invenitur annis circiter trecentis, quam ille antiquissimus penes vos Danaus in Argo transvenisset; Trojano denique proelio ad mille annos ante est, unde et ipso Saturno. Secundum enim historiam Thalli, qua relatum est bellum Assyriorum et Saturnum Titanorum regem cum Jove dimi-

3. **religionis est instar.** 'It is almost a part of your religion to defend the trustworthiness of anything from its antiquity.' Tertullian uses an *argumentum ad hominem*, and his reasoning, as such, is perfectly valid. The Romans attached credibility to writings, and paid veneration to religious ceremonies in proportion to their antiquity; cp. Min. Fel. 6; see above, ch. 5.

5. **[Primus enim prophetes . . . dei vestri.]** This fragment, the text of which is throughout in a very unsatisfactory condition, is in its present position a superfluous anticipation of the argument which follows. The fragment is found only in Cod. Fuldensis, and it may have been incorporated from a second edition of the Apology, or may be simply a passage which has survived from the first rough draft of the treatise. Others conjecture it to belong to the *Ad Nationes*, or some similar tract.

**conditionem**: 'creation'; see ch. 48, and note.

8. **per res suas.** Perhaps, verissimas.

10. **supputationem saeculi**: 'the computation of the world's time'; and therefore infinitely beyond the limits of Greek or Roman chronology. Cp. Lucr. v. 327 ff. for the rejection of the notion of the world's eternity.

12. **penes vos Danaus.** MS. *nos*.

**transvenisset.** Perhaps, transvenit, et. Danaus, the son of Belus and twin-brother of Aegyptus, crossed from Aegypt into Greece and there founded Argos, where he reigned for fifty years.

14. **Thalli.** See note, ch. 19, below.

casse, ostenditur bellum CCCXX et duobus annis Iliacum exitium antecessisse. Per hunc Moysen etiam illa lex propria Judaeis a Deo missa est. Deinceps multa et alii prophetae vetustiores litteris vestris. Nam et qui ultimo cecinit, aut aliquantulo praecucurrit, aut certe concurrit aetate sapientiae auctoribus, etiam latoribus legis. Cyri enim et Darii regno fuit Zacharias, quo in tempore Thales, physicorum princeps, sciscitanti Croeso nihil certum de Divinitate respondit, turbatus scilicet vocibus prophetarum, Solon eidem regi finem longae vitae intuendum praedicavit non aliter, quam prophetae; adeo respici potest, tam jura vestra quam studia de lege deque divina doctrina concepisse. Quod prius est, hoc sit semen necesse est. Inde quaedam nobiscum vel prope nos habetis. De sophia amor ejus philosophia vocitatus est, de prophetia affectatio ejus poeticam vaticinationem deputavit. Gloriae homines, si quid invenerant, ut proprium facerent, adulteraverunt; etiam fructibus a semine degenerare contigit. Multis adhuc de vetustate

1. **bellum**: *i.e.* the struggle between Saturn and Jupiter; perhaps either *istud* has dropped out of the text, or *illum* should be read.

**Iliacum exitium.** MS. *exitum.*

3. **Deinceps multa et alii.** Sc. *praedixerunt;* some word may have dropped out, or *multi* might be read.

7. **Thales, physicorum princeps.** See notes, ch. 46.

11. **prophetae.** Plur. for sing.; the reference is to David in Ps. xxxviii. 5.

**adeo respici potest.** 'Yet it is possible for us to look back and see that Solon . . .'

13. **Inde quaedam,** *etc.* 'Hence it is that you hold certain tenets in common with us, or closely resembling ours.'

15. **prophetia** = *προφητεία.* The word only occurs in Eccl. Latin; see *de anim.* 35; 1 Tim. i. 18 (Vulg.).

16. **Gloriae homines** = *homines gloriae libidinosi,* ch. 47; cp. ch. 46, 'Mimice philosophi affectant veritatem, et affectando corrumpunt, ut qui gloriam captant.'

18. **contigit.** *Contingit* seems preferable, 'it happens also to fruits . . .' *Contingere* occurred in this sense ch. 10; see also ch. 45.

**Multis adhuc . . . consisterem.** 'I might in many ways take up a position in defence (see note, ch. 4) of the antiquity of the sacred writings.' See ch. 20, where this argument is repeated and amplified.

modis consisterem divinarum litterarum, si non major auctoritas illis ad fidem de veritatis suae viribus, quam aetatis annalibus suppetisset. Quid enim potentius patrocinabitur testimonio earum, nisi dispunctio quotidiana saeculi totius, cum dispositiones regnorum, cum casus urbium, cum exitus gentium, cum status temporum ita omnibus respondent, quemadmodum ante millia annorum praenuntiabantur? Unde et spes nostra, quam ridetis, animatur, et fiducia, quam praesumptionem vocatis, corroboratur. Idonea est enim recognitio praeteritorum ad disponendam fiduciam futurorum: eaedem voces praedicaverunt utramque partem, eaedem litterae notaverunt. Unum est tempus apud illas, quod apud nos separari videtur. Ita omnia quae supersunt improbata sunt nobis, quia cum illis, quae probata sunt, tunc futuris praedicabantur. Habetis, quod sciam, et vos Sibyllam, quatenus

1. **si non major,** *etc.* 'If they did not derive a greater credibility from their own intrinsic truth than would be at hand in the records of their antiquity.'

3. **Quid enim potentius.** 'For what could more powerfully defend their testimony than (*nisi*) . . .'

4. **dispunctio quotidiana.** See note, ch. 18.

**saeculi.** Here used, as in ch. 26, for the 'events of the world's history.'

5. **dispositiones.** MS. *dispositione.*

6. **status temporum** = 'officia temporum et elementorum munia exorbitant,' ch. 20.

9. **recognitio praeteritorum.** 'An examination of the past naturally leads us to place confidence in future fulfilments.'

11. **utramque partem,** *i.e.* the past and the future.

12. **Unum est tempus.** With the sacred writings time has but one character, with us it is broken up into three parts—past, present, and future. Cp. ch. 20.

13. **improbata sunt.** Some emendation is needed here. Haverc. read *in probato sunt;* Sciop., *jam probata sunt;* a very fair sense is obtained by inserting *probata* between the two words, which may easily have dropped out: 'that which yet remains unproved is to us proved, because . . .' Cp. ch. 20.

15. **Habetis, quod sciam, . . . vestri.]** MS. *Habetis, quod sciam, et nos Sibyllam, quatenus appellatio ista . . . nostri.* This has been very variously emended and rewritten. As printed in the text it seems translateable. For the reference to the Sibyl, cp. *ad Nat.* ii. 12; Athenag. *Apol.* 26.

appellatione ita vera vates Dei veri passim super ceteros, qui vaticinari videbantur, usurpata est, sicut vestrae Sibyllae nomen de veritate mentitae, quemadmodum et dei vestri.]

Omnes itaque substantias, omnesque materias, origines, ordines, venas veterani cujusque styli vestri, gentes etiam plerasque et urbes insignes, historiarum canas, et memoriarum, ipsas denique effigies litterarum, indices custodesque rerum, et (puto adhuc minus dicimus) ipsos inquam deos vestros, ipsa templa et oracula et sacra unius interim prophetae scrinium saeculis vincit, in quo videtur thesaurus collocatus totius Judaici sacramenti, et inde etiam nostri. Si quem audistis interim Moysen, Argivo Inacho pariter aetate est; quadringentis paene annis, nam et septem minus, Danaum, et ipsum apud vos vetustissimum, praevenit, mille circiter cladem Priami antecedit; possem etiam dicere, quingentis amplius et Homerum, habens quos sequar. Ceteri quoque prophetae, etsi Moysi postumant, extremissimi tamen eorum non

4. **Omnes itaque substantias.** 'All the subject-matter and historical material . . .' The accumulation of expressions (not always felicitous) in this passage is a good instance of Tertullian's sacrifice of elegance to forcefulness. Cp. note, ch. 37.

**origines, ordines, venas**: 'antiquities, chronicles, series.'

6. **canas**: 'venerable records'; *causas*, *causas canas*, and *arcana* are varr. lect.

7. **ipsas effigies litterarum.** 'Hieroglyphics, the witnesses to and guardians of events.'

9. **scrinium.** Lit. 'book-case,' 'despatch-box'; here 'the roll' of the prophet.

10. **saeculis vincit.** 'Exceeds in antiquity by centuries'; see note, ch. 18.

11. **Judaici sacramenti**: 'of the Jewish religion'; see note, ch. 7.

12. **Argivo Inacho pariter aetate est.** On the chronological comparisons in this passage, cp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, and the authorities cited by him.

16. **habens quos sequar.** Cp. Clem. Alex. *l. c.* Ναὶ μὴν Θεόπομπος . . . μετὰ ἔτη πεντακόσια τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ στρατευσάντων γεγονέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἱστορεῖ. Εὐφορίων δὲ κατὰ Γύγην αὐτὸν τίθησι γεγονέναι, *etc.*

17. **Moysi postumant**: 'they are later than Moses.' *Postumare* is a word of patristic latinity; it recurs *de res. carn.* 45; cp. *postumatus*, *adv. Val.* 35.

retrosiores deprehenduntur primoribus vestris sapientibus et legiferis et historicis. Haec quibus ordinibus probari possint, non tam difficile est nobis exponere, quam enorme, nec arduum, sed interim longum. Multis instrumentis, cum digitorum supputariis gesticulis assidendum est. Reseranda antiquissimarum etiam gentium archiva, Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Phoenicum; advocandi etiam municipes eorum, per quos notitia subministrata est; aliqui Manethon Aegyptius, et Berosus Chaldaeus, sed et Iromus Phoenix Tyri rex; sectatores quoque eorum Mendesius Ptolemaeus, et Menander Ephesius, et Demetrius Phalereus, et rex Juba, et Appion, et Thallus, et qui istos aut probat aut revincit, Judaeus Josephus antiquitatum Judaicarum vernaculus vindex. Graecorum etiam censuales conferendi, et quae quando sint gesta, ut concatenationes temporum aperiantur, per quae luceant annalium numeri. Peregrinandum est in historias et litteras orbis. Et tamen quasi partem jam probationis intulimus, quum per quae probari possint, aspersimus. Verum differre praestat, ne vel minus persequamur festinando, vel diutius evagemur persequendo.

2. **historicis**: 'historians'; so Cicero uses the word *Topica* 20. 78, 'oratores et philosophos et poetas et historicos; ex quorum et dictis et scriptis saepe auctoritatis petitur ad faciendam fidem'; and Juvenal vii. 104.

4. **Multis instrumentis . . . assidendum est.** 'We must betake ourselves to many documents with intricate calculations.'

6. **archiva.** A post-class. word = τὰ ἀρχεῖα, 'the archives,' or 'state papers'; termed 'instrumenta imperii,' *Scorp.* 15.

7. **advocandi etiam municipes eorum.** 'We must summon to our aid the fellow-countrymen of those from whom our knowledge is gained, a Manetho from Aegypt . . .' For this use of *municipes*, cp. Juvenal iv. 33; xiv. 271; Cicero *Brut.* 70. 246.

10. **sectatores**: 'their disciples, too.'

12. **Thallus.** This historian was mentioned above, frag., and ch. 10; and his Assyrian history is referred to Lactant. i. 23; cp. *ib.* 14; Min. Fel. 22; Euseb. *praep. Evang.* x. 1; Tert. *ad Nat.* ii. 12.

**et qui istos probat.** 'And their critic Josephus, who either confirms their accounts or convicts them of error.'

14. **censuales.** A legal term of late use, 'the censor's lists'; more usually, 'the compilers of the lists.'

## CAPUT XX.

Plus jam offerimus pro ista dilatione, majestatem scripturarum, si non vetustatem; divinas probamus, si dubitatur antiquas. Nec hoc tardius aut aliunde discendum: coram sunt, quae docebunt, mundus, et saeculum, et exitus. Quidquid agitur, praenuntiabatur; quidquid videtur, audiebatur. Quod terrae vorant urbes, quod insulas maria fraudant; quod externa atque interna bella dilaniant; quod regnis regna compulsant; quod fames et lues et locales quaeque clades et frequentiae pleraque montium vastant; quod humiles sublimitate, sublimes humilitate mutantur; quod justitia rarescit, iniquitas increbrescit, bonarum omnium disciplinarum cura torpescit; quod etiam officia temporum et elementorum munia exorbitant; quod et monstris et portentis naturalium forma turbatur, providenter scripta sunt. Dum patimur, leguntur; dum recognoscimus, probantur. Idoneum, opinor, testimonium divinitatis veritas divinationis. Hinc igitur apud nos futurorum quoque fides tuta est, jam scilicet probatorum, quia cum illis, quae quotidie probantur,

2. **pro ista dilatione.** 'In the place of this adjourned proof;' *dilatio* is a legal technical term, 'an adjourned hearing of a case.'

5. **saeculum.** See note, ch. 18.

7. **fraudant.** 'Steal,' and so 'engulph.'

8. **dilaniant.** Sc. *civitates.*

9. **compulsant**: 'press violently'; a word of late latinity: the subst. *compulsatio* is used ch. 21, 38, 39.

**locales** = *per loca* of Vulg., *κατὰ τόπους* of the Greek. Cp. S. Matt. xxiv. 6, 7; Isaiah xl. 4; Ezek. xxi. 31.

10. **frequentiae pleraque montium.** 'Wild beasts' appear to be indicated; cp. Ezek. v. 17; Lev. xxvi. 22. Another reading is *plerumque mortium. Pleraque* will be accusative after *vastant.*

11. **sublimes humilitate mutantur.** S. Luke i. 52; Ezek. xxi. 26.

12. **iniquitas increbrescit.** S. Matt. xxiv. 12.

13. **officia temporum**: 'the seasons,' each with its own proper functions.

14. **exorbitant**: 'are out of course.' See note, ch. 6.

15. **providenter**: 'with foresight.'

praedicebantur. Eaedem voces sonant, eaedem litterae notant, idem spiritus pulsat, unum tempus est divinationi futura praefanti apud homines, si forte distinguitur dum expungitur, dum ex futuro praesens, dehinc ex praesenti praeteritum deputatur. Quid delinquimus, oro vos, futura quoque credentes, qui jam didicimus illis per duos gradus credere?

## CAPUT XXI.

Sed quoniam edidimus, antiquissimis Judaeorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam, quam aliquanto novellam, ut Tiberiani temporis, plerique sciunt, profitentibus nobis quoque; fortasse an hoc nomine de statu ejus retractetur, quasi sub umbraculo insignissimae religionis, certe licitae, aliquid propriae praesumptionis abscondat, vel quia praeter aetatem neque de victus exceptionibus, neque de solemnitatibus dierum, neque de ipso signaculo corporis, neque de consortio nominis cum Judaeis agimus, quod utique oporteret, si eidem Deo manciparemur? Sed et vulgus jam scit Christum, hominem utique aliquem, qualem Judaei judicaverunt, quo facilius quis nos hominis cultores existimaverit.

2. **unum tempus est**, *etc.*: 'with regard to prophecy, Time is all one.'

3. **si forte distinguitur**, *etc.*: 'although, while in process of fulfilment, it is broken up into parts.'

4. **deputatur**: 'whilst the present is being assigned out of the future, and the past out of the present.' Cp. the use of *deputari*, ch. 4, 19 frag., 21, 41; *de paenit.* 3; *de exh. cast.* 6.

6. **per duos gradus**, *i.e.* through the past and the present.

11. **fortasse an hoc nomine**: 'perhaps the question may be taken up again on this ground, *viz.* concerning its state . . .'

12. **certe licitae**: 'at all events known to the law.' This was a technical expression as we have seen, ch. 4, 14; cp. ch. 38. On the privileges of the Jews, see Gibbon ch. xvi.; ii. 222 ff.

13. **praeter aetatem.** Tertullian anticipates an objection of this kind: 'Is not Christianity new, and does it not differ from Judaism, besides the point of antiquity, in questions of ceremonies and of name?'

15. **signaculo corporis**: 'the seal of the body,' *i.e.* circumcision. So Tertullian calls Holy Baptism 'signaculum fidei,' *de spect.* 24.

19. **hominis cultores.** Just. Mart. *dial. c. Try.* 10. The funda-

Verum neque de Christo erubescimus, quum sub nomine ejus deputari et damnari juvat, neque de Deo aliter praesumimus.

Necesse est igitur pauca dicamus de Christo ut Deo. Tantum Judaeis erat apud Deum gratia, ubi et insignis justitia et fides originalium auctorum, unde illis et generis magnitudo et regni sublimitas floruit et tanta felicitas, ut Dei vocibus, quibus edocebantur, de promerendo Deo, et non offendendo, praemonerentur. Sed quanta deliquerint, fiducia patrum inflati [ad delirandum], derivantes a disciplina in profanum modum, etsi ipsi non confiterentur, probaret exitus hodiernus ipsorum. Dispersi, palabundi, et caeli et soli sui extorres, vagantur per orbem, sine homine, sine Deo

mental point on which Judaism and Christianity differed was the Divinity of Christ.

1. **Verum neque de Christo erubescimus.** Cp. Rom. i. 16; 2 Tim. i. 8; Luke ix. 26.

**quum**: 'since we rejoice ...' *Quum* brings forward an evidence of *verum neque* . . .

2. **deputari.** Either 'to be assigned,' 'reckoned,' as in last ch., *etc.*; see note; or with an ellipse of *in poenam* = 'to be condemned,' as in Capitol. *Macrin.* 12, 'servos . . . ad gladium ludi deputavit'; cp. *de cult. fem.* i. 2, 'damnati in poenam mortis deputantur.'

**aliter**, *i.e.* otherwise than do the Jews.

4. **de Christo ut Deo.** Cp. ch. 2 with note, and Pliny's letter to Trajan.

10. **[ad delirandum]** Added in Cod. Fuld. Other edd. read *ad declinandum*, or omit altogether.

**derivantes**: 'turning aside.' The metaphor is that of a river flowing out of its wonted course, and is a parallel one to that contained in *exorbitare;* see note, ch. 6.

12. **Dispersi, palabundi.** On the state of the Jews in Tertullian's day see *adv. Jud.* 2, 13; *de pudic.* 8; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 6 (the edict of Hadrian after the revolt of Barchochebas), *τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πάμπαν ἐπιβαίνειν εἴργεται, νόμου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ, ὡς ἂν μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῷον ἔδαφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου.* On one day only in the year—the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem—could the prohibition be evaded; see Vales. *ad* Euseb. *l. c.*; cp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 62.

13. **sine homine.** Corrected by Scaliger (perhaps unnecessarily) into *sine nomine:* one Lyon MS. inserts *sine* again before *rege.* Cp. 1 Sam. viii. 6, 7; Hos. iii. 4; x. 3.

rege, quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur. Cum haec illis sanctae voces praeminarentur, eaedem fere semper omnes ingerebant fore, uti sub extimis curriculis saeculi ex omni jam gente, et populo, et loco cultores sibi allegeret Deus multo fideliores, in quos gratiam transferret, et pleniorem quidem ob disciplinae auctioris capacitatem. [Venit igitur, qui ad reformandam et illuminandam eam venturus a Deo praenuntiabatur, Christus ille Filius Dei.] Hujus igitur gratiae disciplinaeque arbiter et magister, illuminator atque deductor generis humani, Filius Dei adnuntiabatur, non quidem ita genitus, ut erubescat de filii nomine aut de patris semine; non de sororis incesto, nec de stupro filiae aut conjugis alienae deum patrem passus est, squamatum, aut cornutum, aut plumatum amatorem, aut in aurum conversum: Jovis enim ista sunt numina vestri. Ceterum Dei Filius nullam de impudicitia habet matrem, etiam quam videtur habere non nupserat.

Sed prius substantiam edisseram, et ita nativitatis qualitas intelligetur. Jam ediximus Deum universitatem hanc mundi

3. **praeminarentur.** Deut. viii. 19; xi. 16, 17; xxviii. 15 ff.; Ezek. v. 8 ff.

**ingerebant.** Joel ii. 28 ff.

6. **ob disciplinae auctioris capacitatem:** 'on account of the capacity of an ampler system of teaching'; *i.e.* the Gospel dispensation was a more extended one than the Jewish in that it embraced the whole world.

7. **[Venit igitur . . . Filius Dei.]** These words are omitted by Rig. and Haverc.

10. **deductor:** 'an attendant upon a neophyte,' 'a guide'; and so of the Holy Spirit, *de coron.* 4, 'Deductor veritatis.'

14. **squamatum, aut cornutum,** *i. e.* when assuming the form of a serpent, or bull or goat.

**plumatum amatorem.** Jupiter as a swan with Leda: comp. *de spect.* 8, 'qui illos [Castorem et Pollucem] ovo editos credendo de cygno Jove non erubescunt.'

16. **numina:** *nomina* is the reading of most MSS.

**de impudicitia:** *pudicitia* is preferred by some edd., and would mean 'in lawful wedlock.'

19. **Jam ediximus.** Ch. 17.

**universitatem hanc mundi** = 'totam molem vitam cum omni instrumento, elementorum, corporum, spirituum,' ch. 17.

Verbo et Ratione et Virtute molitum. Apud vestros quoque sapientes ΛΟΓΟΝ, id est Sermonem atque Rationem, constat artificem videri universitatis. Hunc enim Zeno determinat factitatorem, qui cuncta in dispositione formaverit, eumdem et fatum vocari, et deum et animum Jovis, et necessitatem omnium rerum. Haec Cleanthes in spiritum congerit, quem permeatorem universitatis affirmat. Et nos etiam Sermoni atque Rationi itemque Virtuti, per quae omnia molitum Deum ediximus, propriam substantiam Spiritum inscribimus, cui et Sermo insit pronuntianti, et Ratio adsit disponenti, et Virtus praesit perficienti. Hunc ex Deo prolatum didicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei et Deum dictum

3. **Zeno.** A native of Cittium in Cyprus, and the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy. Comp. Diog. Laert. vii. 135, *Ἕν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Δία, πολλαῖς τε ἑτέραις ὀνομασίαις προσονομάζεσθαι.* Both Zeno and Cleanthes held pantheistic notions, comp. Lact. iv. 9.

6. **Cleanthes.** Cleanthes of Assos, a pupil of Zeno, whom he succeeded as president of the school. Diog. Laert. vii. 174; comp. Cicero *de nat. deor.* i. 14. 36, 37; Lucan. i. 580. Vergil summarizes the Stoic doctrine of the *anima mundi* or Soul of the Universe, *Aen.* vi. 724 ff.; and see below, ch. 47 with notes.

**in spiritum congerit:** 'accumulates on the spirit which, he asserts, pervades the universe.'

9. **Spiritum inscribimus, cui et Sermo:** *Spiritum* has the sense of Divine Nature, see Kaye, p. 526; and the following clauses set forth the aspects in which it is manifested in the Λόγος, who, as Word of God, issues the fiat of creation (*pronuntianti*), as Reason, gives order to the universe (*disponenti*), and as Power, carries His work on to a complete perfection (*perficienti*).

12. **prolatione generatum.** Tertullian is careful in *adv. Prax.* 8 to guard his use of *prolatio*, in describing the Generation of the Son of God, from suspicion of Valentinianism. The Valentinian προβολή involved a complete separation between the originating source and its product: 'Valentinus probolas suas discernit et separat ab auctore.' But Tertullian's own use of the word was compatible with the absolute union of the two. After quoting S. John x. 30, 'Ego et Pater unum sumus,' he continues, 'Haec erit probola veritatis, custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre, sed non separatum. Protulit enim Deus Sermonem, quemadmodum etiam Paracletus docet, sicut radix fruticem et fons fluvium et sol radium. Nam et istae species probolae sunt earum substantiarum ex quibus prodeunt.' See Kaye, p. 504, and references there.

ex unitate substantiae. Nam et Deus Spiritus. Et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa; sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia, sed extenditur. Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum. Manet integra et indefecta materiae matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris. Ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei Filius, et unus ambo. Ita et de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus modulo alterum, non numero, gradu, non statu fecit, et

1. **ex unitate substantiae.** This is the exact equivalent of ὁμοούσιον as defined by the Nicene Council. Comp. *adv. Prax.* 2, where Tertullian speaking of the Holy Trinity says, 'Tres autem non statu, sed gradu; nec substantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie: unius autem substantiae et unius status et unius potestatis'; *ib.* 13; *adv. Marc.* iii. 6; iv. 25; *de pud.* 2; and Bull's remarks *Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 7. 1, 2, 5.

**Nam et Deus Spiritus.** S. John iv. 24.

2. **radius ex sole porrigitur.** Heb. i. 3 naturally suggested this simile: comp. *adv. Prax.* 13; Athan. *de decr. Nic.* 25. These, and indeed any, physical comparisons employed to illustrate the Unity of the Divine Essence subsisting in Three Persons are inevitably imperfect. Athan. *contr. Arian.* ii. 32; August. *Serm.* 117. 7. The parallel may hold good in one particular, but fails in others: *e.g. portio* is so far a legitimate simile in that the Son does not comprise in Himself the whole Triune Godhead, and in that it notes the 'subordination' of the Son to the Father; but the parallel fails in that the Son is eternally inseparable from, or coinherent in, the Father, and coequal with Him. Tertullian clearly preserves his figurative language from misconception by emphasizing these points *adv. Marc.* iii. 6; *adv. Prax.* 8, 9, 19. Newman's *Arians*, ch. ii. 4. 3.

3. **nec separatur substantia**: comp. the Quicunque, 'neque Substantiam separantes.'

4. **de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine**: comp. the Nicene phrases, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός.

6. **materiae matrix**, 'the original parent matter': below, *a matrice = a fonte entis.*

9. **modulo non numero**: 'in mode of existence not in numerical distinction:' *i. e.* the Father exists *qua* Father, the Son *qua* Son; but each is Perfect God. See Pearson *On the Creed* 37 ff. with reff. there.

**gradu.** This word is not used here in the sense in which it is found *e.g.* S. Leo. *Serm.* 72, 77; S. August. *Serm.* 264. 7, (where the writers are rejecting the idea of degrees of superiority or inferiority in the Godhead of the Three Persons); but in reference to the 'order' of existence

a matrice non recessit, sed excessit. Iste igitur Dei radius, ut retro semper praedicabatur, delapsus in virginem quamdam, et in utero ejus caro figuratus, nascitur Homo Deo mistus. Caro spiritu instructa nutritur, adolescit, affatur, docet, operatur, et Christus est.

Recipite interim hanc fabulam, similis est vestris, dum ostendimus quomodo Christus probetur. Sciebant et qui penes vos ejusmodi fabulas aemulas ad destructionem veritatis istiusmodi praeministraverunt. Sciebant et Judaei venturum esse Christum, scilicet quibus prophetae loquebantur. Nam et nunc adventum ejus exspectant, nec alia magis inter nos et illos compulsatio est, quam quod jam venisse non credunt.

in the Trinity which follows from the Father being the Fount of Godhead. See Bright, *Serm. of S. Leo*, note 89; comp. *adv. Prax. l. c.*

**non statu**, 'not in condition of being.' Comp. *adv. Prax.* 4. In effect *non statu* asserts coequality.

2. **praedicabatur.** Isaiah vii. 14.

3. **Homo Deo mistus**: 'man united to God'; *miscere* recurs in this sense ch. 39; *adv. Marc.* ii. 27, 'miscente in semetipso Hominem et Deum.' This was the usual expression of the early Latin Fathers for the Union of the Two Natures in Christ, corresponding to κρᾶσις (and its compounds) of the Greek Fathers. As used by them this phraseology was perfectly orthodox; *e.g.* S. Cyprian *de. idol. van.* 11; Orig. *contr. Cels.* iii. 41; Lactant. iv. 13; S. Athan. *Orat. c. Ar.* iv. 33; *contr. Apol.* ii. 16 (Lib. Fath. *Later Treat.* p. 138); and even later by S. August. *Ep.* 137. 11; S. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 101. 10; S. Greg. Nyss. *Cat.* 27; S. Leo *Serm.* 23. 1 (Bright's transl. note 9); comp. S. Cyr. Alex. *adv. Nest.* i. 3. But the terms were subsequently abused by heresy and invested with a technical heretical meaning; and it then became necessary to restrict the Catholic phraseology to exactly defined expressions. Thus ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν, *unitio*, were the orthodox terms by which the Personal Union was expressed, and the heretical expressions were disclaimed: κρᾶσις as Apollinarian; συναφεία, *associatio*, as Nestorian; σύγχυσις, *commixtio*, as Eutychian. See Liddon *Bampt. Lect.* vii. pp. 426 ff.

6. **Recipite interim**: *interim* is here as in ch. 8, *credite interim*, 'for the time being,' till we finish the argument.

7. **Sciebant**: 'were aware of what was to come to pass.'

**qui penes vos . . . praeministraverunt**, *i.e.* the daemons who anticipated the truth with rival fables to destroy it; see ch. 22, and above, notes on ch. 2: comp. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* xv. 11.

12. **compulsatio**, 'fierce contention.'

Duobus enim adventibus ejus significatis: primo, qui jam expunctus est, in humilitate condicionis humanae; secundo, qui concludendo saeculo imminet in sublimitate divinitatis exsertae: primum non intelligendo, secundum, quem manifestius praedicatum sperant, unum existimaverunt. Ne enim intelligerent pristinum, credituri si intellexissent, et consecuturi salutem si credidissent, meritum fuit delictum eorum. Ipsi legunt ita scriptum mulctatos se sapientia et intelligentia et oculorum et aurium fruge.

Quem igitur solummodo hominem praesumpserant de humilitate, sequebatur uti magum aestimarent de potestate, cum ille verbo daemonia de hominibus excuteret, caecos reluminaret, leprosos purgaret, paralyticos restringeret, mortuos denique verbo redderet vitae, elementa ipsa famularet, compescens procellas et freta ingrediens, ostendens se esse ΛΟΓΟΝ Dei, id est Verbum illud primordiale primogenitum,

1. **qui jam expunctus est,** 'which has already been accomplished'; see note, ch. 2.

8. **legunt ita scriptum.** Isaiah vi. 9, 10.

10. **Quem igitur solummodo.** With this passage comp. S. Cypr. *de van. idol.* 13.

11. **magum.** The miracles of Christ were accepted as genuine by heathen opponents, *e.g.* Celsus, Orig. *contr. Cels.* i. 68; ii. 50; but were attributed to magic: comp. Athan. *de Incarn.* 48.

12. **cum ille verbo . . . excuteret.** S. Matt. viii. 16, 'et spiritus verbo ejiciebat.' See Arnobius i. 25 that this instantaneousness was a characteristic of the Divine miracles.

13. **reluminaret**: a very rare word. Tertullian uses it *de anim.* 34 in antithesis to *excaecare*; and it recurs in a later writer, Paulin. Nolanus *Epp.* xxx. 4.

**paralyticos restringeret.** The expression exhibits an appropriate selection of words; *παραλύω = resolvo*, of which *restringo* is the exact antithesis.

14. **elementa ipsa famularet.** *Famulare*, 'to make serviceable,' is a rare word confined to late writers. The deponent *famulari* occurs *adv. Herm.* 29; *de res. carn.* 47 (*bis*), where *famulati Deo* is quoted from the early African version of the N. T., the Vulgate reading *servi facti Deo*, Rom. vi. 22.

15. **procellas.** S. Mark iv. 37.

16. **primogenitum.** Colossians i. 15.

Virtute et Ratione comitatum, et Spiritu fultum, eumdem qui verbo omnia, et faceret, et fecisset. Ad doctrinam vero ejus, qua revincebantur magistri primoresque Judaeorum, ita exasperabantur, maxime quod ad eum ingens multitudo deflecteret, ut postremo oblatum Pontio Pilato Syriam tunc ex parte Romana procuranti, violentia suffragiorum in crucem dedi sibi extorserint. Praedixerat et ipse ita facturos. Parum hoc, si non et prophetae retro. Et tamen suffixus spiritum cum verbo sponte dimisit, praevento carnificis officio. Eodem momento dies, medium orbem signante sole, subducta est. Deliquium utique putaverunt, qui id quoque super Christo praedicatum non scierunt; [ratione non deprehensa, negaverunt;] et tamen eum mundi casum relatum in archivis vestris habetis. Tunc Judaei detractum et sepulcro conditum magna etiam militaris custodiae dili-

3. **magistri.** S. John iii. 10.

6. **procuranti**: in its technical sense, 'being procurator'; so Vulg. Luke iii. 1, 'procurante Pontio Pilato Judaeam.'

**suffragiorum**: alluding to the choice of the people between Barabbas and Christ: *extorserint* is well justified by S. Luke's narrative xxiii. 20 ff.

7. **Praedixerat et ipse.** S. Matt. xvi. 21; S. Mark viii. 31, *etc.*

8. **Parum hoc, si.** 'This might be a slight point to urge if the prophets . . .' Ps. xxii. 1–18; Isai. liii; lxv. 2, *etc.* Comp. the expression below 'Multum est, si . . .'

9. **praevento carnificis officio.** S. John xix. 33.

11. **Deliquium . . . praedicatum.** Amos viii. 9; comp. *adv. Jud.* 10, 'Nam quod in passione ejus accidit, ut media dies tenebresceret, Amos propheta adnuntiat.' Comp. Jer. ii. 12.

12. **[ratione . . . negaverunt]**: added in Cod. Fuld. only.

14. **relatum in archivis.** This is the true reading; *arcanis* is found in one MS. only (Cod. Fuld.): *relatum* is the technical word for 'making an official return,' 'registering in an official report'; comp. Cicero *pro Sulla* 15, 42. Tertullian elsewhere appeals to official documents in confirmation of his statements, *adv. Marc.* iv. 7, 'de censu denique Augusti, quem testem fidelissimum Dominicae nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt?' Cp. note on *archiva*, ch. 19. In the present passage the reference is most probably to the official report sent by Pilate, comp. below, 'Tiberio nuntiavit.' Gibbon (ii. 194), unwarrantably preferring *arcanis*, believes Tertullian to appeal to the Sibylline verses, which merely reproduce the Gospel narrative.

gentia circumsederunt, ne, quia praedixerat tertia die resurrecturum se a morte, discipuli furto amoliti cadaver fallerent suspectos. Sed ecce die tertia concussa repente terra, et mole revoluta, quae obstruxerat sepulcrum, et custodia pavore disjecta, nullis apparentibus discipulis, nihil in sepulcro repertum est, praeterquam exuviae sepulti. Nihilominus tamen primores, quorum intererat, et scelus divulgare, et populum vectigalem et famularem sibi a fide revocare, subreptum a discipulis jactitaverunt. Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit, ne impii errore liberarentur, ut et fides, non mediocri praemio destinata, difficultate constaret. Cum discipulis autem quibusdam apud Galilaeam Judaeae regionem ad quadraginta dies egit, docens eos quae docerent. Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem, circumfusa nube in caelum est ereptus, multo verius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulo Proculi solent. Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Caesari tum Tiberio nuntiavit. Sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent saeculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse

5. **custodia pavore disjecta.** *Disjicere* is the regular military term for routing and dispersing a guard of soldiery; comp. Hor. *Epp.* ii. 2. 30; Liv. xliv. 41. *Dejicere* occurs in the same sense ch. 27, like *depellere*, ch. 9, 24, 37.

9. **Nam nec ille se in vulgus eduxit.** Acts x. 41, 'non omni populo,' *etc.* Tertullian's two reasons are interesting. The Risen Life of Christ could only be apprehended by a trained spiritual faculty; and the experience of unbelievers would have been inadequate to establish the true faith in the Resurrection. See Westcott, *Rev. Risen Lord*, introd. chap., on the 'Divine impossibility' of the manifestation of Christ to the world after His Resurrection.

16. **de Romulo Proculi.** Liv. i. 16; comp. August *de civ. Dei* iii. 15.

17. **pro sua conscientia Christianus.** S. Matt. xxvii. 23, 24.

18. **Sed et Caesares credidissent.** The close connexion of this remark with the mention of Pilate's official communication to Tiberius respecting Christ, taken in conjunction with Tiberius' proposal (ch. 5) to the Senate to admit Christ amongst the Roman deities, has been held to imply that 'worldly considerations alone prevented Tiberius from believing in Christ.' (Kaye, pp. 103 ff.) Tertullian may, how-

Caesares. Discipuli quoque diffusi per orbem, ex praecepto magistri Dei paruerunt, qui et ipsi a Judaeis insequentibus multa perpessi, utique pro fiducia veritatis libenter, Romae postremo per Neronis saevitiam, sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt. Sed monstrabimus vobis idoneos testes Christi, ipsos illos quos adoratis. Multum est, si eos adhibeam ut credatis Christianis, propter quos non creditis Christianis.

Interim hic est ordo nostrae institutionis, hunc edidimus et sectae et nominis censum cum suo auctore. Nemo jam infamiam incutiat, nemo aliud existimet, quia nec fas est ulli de sua religione mentiri. Ex eo enim, quod aliud a se coli dicit, quam colit, negat quod colit, et culturam et honorem in alterum transfert, et transferendo jam non colit quod negavit. Dicimus, et palam dicimus, et vobis torquentibus lacerati et cruenti vociferamur: Deum colimus per Christum. Illum hominem putate, per eum et in eo se cognosci vult Deus et coli. Ut autem Judaeis respondeam, et ipsi Deum per [hominem] Moysen colere didicerunt; ut Graecis occurram, Orpheus Pieriae, Musaeus Athenis,

ever, be merely drawing attention to the irreconcileability of the imperial position and character, though indispensable to the stability of the age, with the Christian faith (Woodham, note *ad loc.*).

4. **sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt**: comp. ch. 50, 'semen est sanguis Christianorum.'

5. **monstrabimus vobis.** Tertullian devotes the three following chapters to adducing the testimony of the daemons to Christ.

6. **Multum est, si.** 'It is a great point to urge if . . .'

7. **Christianis.** If *Christiani* be read, the constr. is *ut* [*fiatis*] *Christiani* [*et*] *credatis.*

10. **censum**: see note, ch. 7.

11. **quia nec fas est**, 'since it is of course impossible': to lie respecting one's religion is *ipso facto* to cease to belong to it.

20. **Orpheus Pieriae.** After his return from the Argonautic expedition Orpheus, according to the myth, settled in Pieria, a region of Macedonia, and taught the inhabitants the arts of civilization.

**Musaeus Athenis**: a semi-legendary Greek poet of the time of Orpheus, whose compositions treated of the mystic rites of Dionysus at Eleusis; Cicero *de nat. deor.* i. 15. 41.

Melampus Argis, Trophonius Boeotiae initiationibus homines obligaverunt; ut ad vos quoque dominatores gentium aspiciam, homo fuit Pompilius Numa, qui Romanos operosissimis superstitionibus oneravit. Licuerit et Christo commentari divinitatem rem propriam; non qui rupices et adhuc feros homines multitudine tot numinum demerendorum attonitos efficiendo ad humanitatem temperaret, quod Numa; sed qui jam expolitos et ipsa urbanitate deceptos in agnitionem veritatis ocularet. Quaerite ergo, si vera sit ista divinitas Christi. Si ea est, qua cognita ad bonum quis reformetur, sequitur, ut falsa renuntietur quaevis alia contraria comperta; imprimis illa omni ratione, quae delitescens sub nominibus et imaginibus mortuorum, quibusdam signis, et miraculis, et oraculis fidem divinitatis operatur.

## CAPUT XXII.

ATQUE adeo dicimus, esse substantias quasdam spiritales; nec nomen novum est. Sciant daemonas philosophi, Socrate ipso ad daemonii arbitrium exspectante. Quidni? cum et ipsi daemonium adhaesisse a pueritia dicatur, dehortatorium plane a bono. Daemonas sciunt poetae, etiam vulgus

1. **Melampus Argis**: the first soothsayer and physician among the ancients; he introduced the worship of Dionysus into Greece, and subsequently ruled one-third of the kingdom of Argos; Cicero *de leg.* ii. 13. 33.

**Trophonius Boeotiae**: the oracle of Lebadia in Boeotia; Cicero *de nat. deor.* iii. 19. 49; *de div.* i. 34. 74.

4. **Licuerit et Christo.** 'And so it would have been allowable for Christ, too, to set forth His Own Divinity; not, like Numa, after a method by which (*quî*) He might soften . . .; but whereby He might enlighten to the apprehension of the Truth. . . .' For this use of *oculare* see *de paenit.* 12; and Cypr. *de idol. van.* 14, in a reproduction of this passage.

14. **fidem divinitatis operatur**, 'gains a credence for its own divinity.'

17. **Socrate . . . exspectante**: Plat. *Apol.* 19, 31; comp. *Phaedr.* 43, *Theag.* 10; Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 1; Diog. Laert. ii. 32.

20. **poetae.** Comp. Euseb. *praep. evang.* v. 4; Plat. *Cratyl.* 32; *Repub.* v. 15.

indoctum in usum maledicti frequentat, nam et Satanam, principem hujus mali generis, proinde de propria conscientia animae, eadem exsecramenti voce pronuntiat. Angelos quoque etiam Plato non negavit; utriusque nominis testes vel magi adsunt. Sed quomodo de angelis quibusdam sua sponte corruptis corruptior gens daemonum evaserit damnata a Deo cum generis auctoribus, et cum eo quem diximus principe, apud litteras sanctas ordine cognoscitur. Nunc de operatione eorum satis erit exponere. Operatio eorum est hominis eversio: sic malitia spiritalis a primordio auspicata est in hominis exitium. Itaque corporibus quidem et valetudines infligunt et aliquos casus acerbos, animae vero repentinos et extraordinarios per vim excessus. Suppetit illis ad utramque substantiam hominis adeundam mira subtilitas et tenuitas

1. **nam et Satanam.** The text is very uncertain in this passage. Tertullian's meaning seems to be that Satan is unwittingly referred to in the maledictory exclamation of the vulgar, *Malum!* (*eadem exsecramenti voce*), since it recognises 'evil' in the abstract (apart from any definite manifestations of evil) and therefore the Evil One. Comp. *de test. anim.* 3, 'Satanam denique in omni aversatione et aspernatione et detestatione pronuntias, quem nos dicimus malitiae angelum,' *etc.*

3. **Angelos . . . Plato non negavit.** Plat. *Sympos.* 28; Diog. Laert. iii. 79, *οἴεται δὲ . . . δαίμονας εἶναι.* For **adsunt**, others read *asserunt.*

8. **apud litteras sanctas.** Tertullian so explains Gen. vi. 2, *de idol.* 9; *de virg. vel.* 7; *de cult. fem.* i. 2, 3, where he quotes the Book of Enoch to the same purpose. This interpretation was adopted by many early Christian writers (and was in part, perhaps, due to the LXX (Alex. MS.) reading *οἱ ἄγγελοι* for *υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* in the text cited), but not by the universal consensus of Catholic authorities. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* i. 3, has the same interpretation; see also Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 21; ii. 6; Iren. *adv. haer.* iv. 36, 70; v. 29; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 2; *Strom.* iii. 7; v. 1; Cypr. *de hab. virg.* 9; *de pat.* 11; the question is fully discussed by Augustine, *quaest. ad Gen.* i. 3; *de civ. Dei* xv 23; comp. Jerome *quaestt. in Gen. ad loc.*; Orig. *contr. Cels.* v. 55; Cyr. Alex. *adv. Anthrop.* 17.

13. **excessus,** 'aberrations,' 'excesses': the word is used in this sense above ch. 9, and by a later author, Prudent. *contr. Symm.* ii. 990. *Excedere* and *excessus* are often used absolutely for *mori, mors*; *e.g.* ch. 25, of the death of Marcus Aurelius; *de test. an.* 4.

**Suppetit illis,** 'gives them access.'

**ad utram substantiam hominis**: *i.e.* the corporeal and spiritual parts of man.

sua. Multum spiritalibus viribus licet, ut invisibiles et insensibiles in effectu potius quam in actu suo appareant: si poma, si fruges nescio quod aurae latens vitium in flore praecipitat, in germine exanimat, in pubertate convulnerat, ac si caeca ratione tentatus aër pestilentes haustus suos offundit: eadem igitur obscuritate contagionis aspiratio daemonum et angelorum mentis quoque corruptelas agit furoribus et amentiis foedis, aut saevis libidinibus cum erroribus variis; quorum iste potissimus, quo deos istos captis et circumscriptis hominum mentibus commendat, ut et sibi pabula propria nidoris et sanguinis procuret simulacris et imaginibus oblata, et quae illis accuratior pascua est, hominem a cogitatu verae divinitatis avertant praestigiis falsae divinationis. Quas et ipsas quomodo operentur, expediam. Omnis spiritus ales est: hoc angeli et daemones. Igitur momento ubique sunt: totus orbis illis locus unus est; quid ubique geratur, tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur. Sic et auctores interdum videri volunt eorum quae annuntiant: et sunt plane malorum nonnunquam, bonorum tamen nun-

4. **praecipitat.** This word is used of unseasonable forwardness of grain or fruit; so Columella iii. 21. 10 of the vintage. The word recurs ch. 41.

5. **tentatus,** 'infected': a medical term used of poison and contagion; comp. Sueton. *Vesp.* 24; Lucret. vi. 1088–1103.

10. **circumscriptis** = *deceptis*; as in Cicero *Acad. quaest.* ii. 15. 46.

11. **pabula propria.** Comp. ch. 23. Tertullian's materialistic ideas of the nature of spirits, as exemplified here, were shared by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* ii. 5) and other writers. The notion reappears *de res. carn.* 17, where Tertullian regards the human soul as in some degree corporeal. See note, ch. 48.

12. **quae illis accuratior pascua est:** 'which is to them a far more palatable banquet'; a forced meaning to give to *accuratior*, but *accurare* is used by Plautus *Epp.* v. 1. 55 for 'regaling a guest.' *Pascua* as a subst. is confined to late Latin: it is found in the Vulg., Joel i. 18; Ezek. xxxiv. 31.

15. **hoc angeli et daemones.** *Hoc, i. e.* 'winged,' referring to the preceding *ales*.

18. **Velocitas divinitas creditur:** *i. e.* their swiftness is regarded as a proof of their divinity, especially as their real nature is unknown.

quam. Dispositiones etiam Dei, et tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, et nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita et hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes, aemulantur divinitatem dum furantur divinationem.

In oraculis autem quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Croesi, sciunt Pyrrhi. Ceterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renuntiavit, quo supra diximus; momento apud Lydiam fuerat. Habent de incolatu aëris et de vicinia siderum et de commercio nubium caelestes sapere paraturas, ut et pluvias, quas jam sentiunt, repromittant. Venefici plane et circa curas valetudinum. Laedunt enim primo, dehinc remedia praecipiunt ad miraculum nova, sive contraria, post quae desinunt laedere, et curasse creduntur. Quid ergo de ceteris ingeniis vel etiam viribus fallaciae spiritalis edisseram, phantasmata Castorum, et aquam cribro gestatam, et navem

1. **Dispositiones etiam Dei,** 'the counsels of God'; so ch. 41, 'admitte prius dispositiones ejus.' Comp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 54; Cyr. Jer. xv. 11.

2. **lectionibus resonantibus**: *abl. absol.* 'and now they snatch them (*i. e. dispositiones*) whilst the public readings of the Scriptures are sounding'; comp. ch. 18, 'Judaei palam lectitant,' *etc.*

4. **aemulantur divinitatem**: 'they vie (with God) in laying claim to a divinity,' which is founded upon a stolen *divinatio,* itself fraudulent and dependent upon the only real thing about them, their *velocitas.*

6. **sciunt Croesi, sciunt Pyrrhi.** Herod. i. 53, 55, 91; Cicero *de div.* ii. 56.

7. **Pythius.** Herod. i. 46–48.

13. **nova, sive contraria**: *i. e.* either new methods of treatment, or else remedies entirely opposed to the ordinary ones.

14. **ingeniis.** See note, ch. 15.

15. **phantasmata Castorum.** The alleged appearances of the Dioscuri at the battle of Lake Regillus, and in Rome announcing the victory in the Persian war; Val. Max. i. 8; comp. Florus *Epit.* ii. 12; iii. 3; Cic. *de nat. deor.* ii. 2; Min. Felix 7, 27.

16. **aquam cribro gestatam**: the ordeal by which the innocence of Tuccia, a vestal virgin, was established; Val. Max. viii. 1.

**navem cingulo promotam**: referring to the story of Claudia Quinta, a Roman matron (Min. Felix 27) whose chastity had been impugned (or, according to Aurel. Victor *de vir. illustr.* 46, 'virgo ves-

cingulo promotam, et barbam tactu irrufatam, ut numina lapides crederentur, et Deus verus non quaereretur?

## CAPUT XXIII.

PORRO si et magi phantasmata edunt, et jam defunctorum infamant animas; si pueros in eloquium oraculi elidunt, si multa miracula circulatoriis praestigiis ludunt, si et somnia immittunt habentes semel invitatorum angelorum et daemonum assistentem sibi potestatem, per quos et caprae et mensae divinare consueverunt; quanto magis illa potestas de suo arbitrio et pro suo negotio studeat totis viribus operari, quod alienae praestat negotiationi? Aut si eadem et angeli et daemones operantur, quae et dii vestri; ubi est ergo praecellentia divinitatis, quae utique superior omni potestate credenda est? Non ergo dignius praesumetur, ipsos esse qui se deos faciant, cum eadem edant quae faciant deos credi, quam pares angelis et daemonibus deos esse? Locorum differentia distinguitur, opinor, ut a

talis, falso incesti suspecta'), and who was enabled to move the stranded vessel which was conveying the image of Cybele up the Tiber: Herodian. *Hist.* i. 11; Liv. xxix. 14.

1. **barbam tactu irrufatam**: the sign given to Domitius Aënobarbus by the 'juvenes gemini augustiore forma' of the truth of their announcement of victory; Sueton. *Nero* 1; comp. Martial *Epigr.* viii. 52.

4. **Porro si et magi**: comp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 24.

5. **infamant**: a variant reading gives *inclamant*, and *eliciunt* for elidunt, which seem to be explanatory glosses on the text.

**elidunt.** This is a strong term for denoting what appears to be intended here—the mesmeric or clairvoyant trance, rather than the παιδομαντεία or sacrifice of children for the purpose of inspecting their *exta.* Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 10; viii. 14; Apul. *Apol.* 1; Val. Max. v. 7; Plin. *N. H.* vii. 50.

8. **caprae et mensae divinare.** For the use of goats in divination see Clem. Alex., quoted Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ii. 3. The *mensae* are probably the oracular tripods; cp. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 764, 'incensis erepta adytis, mensaeque deorum'; Sozom. *H. E.* vi. 35.

13. **praecellentia.** A word confined to eccl. latin.

17. **Locorum differentia.** Tertullian is arguing for the identification of the gods with the daemons, and sarcastically suggests that the dif-

templis deos aestimetis, quos alibi deos non dicitis; ut aliter dementire videatur, qui sacras turres pervolat, aliter qui tecta viciniae transilit; et alia vis pronuntietur in eo qui genitalia vel lacertos, alia in eo qui sibi gulam prosecat. Compar exitus furoris, et una ratio est instigationis.

Sed hactenus verba, jam hinc demonstratio rei ipsius, qua ostendemus unam esse utriusque nominis qualitatem. Edatur hic aliquis sub tribunalibus vestris, quem daemone agi constet. Jussus a quolibet Christiano loqui spiritus ille, tam se daemonem confitebitur de vero, quam alibi deum de falso. Aeque producatur aliquis ex iis, qui de deo pati existimantur, qui aris inhalantes numen de nidore concipiunt, qui ructando curantur, qui anhelando profantur. Ista ipsa Virgo Caelestis pluviarum pollicitatrix, iste ipse Aesculapius medicinarum

ference between them in the estimation of the heathen depended solely on the different localities they inhabited.

2. **qui sacras turres pervolat.** The allusion is to the expiatory rite of hurling criminals from the promontory of Leucas in honour of Apollo.

3. **qui genitalia vel lacertos.** The Corybantes or Galli, priests of Cybele, who were thus consecrated to the goddess; cp. ch. 25, and note. Juven. ii. 115; Catullus lxiii. 1 ff.

7. **Edatur hic aliquis.** Tertullian proposes a test case or ordeal; similarly S. Athanasius, a century later, *de Incarn.* 48. Cp. Tert. below, ch. 37, 43; *de test. anim.* 3; *ad Scap.* 2; *de spect.* 29; *de idol.* 11; *de coron.* 11; Lactant. v. 21; Just. Mart. *Apol.* ii. 6, 8; Orig. *contr. Cels.* i. 25; vii. 4. The prominence given by the early apologists to cases of exorcism reflects the spirit of the age wherein they wrote. Christians and pagans alike believed in the intense activity of daemoniacal power; and, while the frequency of such appeals as the present proves that they must have had a very real controversial value at the time, there was no doubt a tendency to exaggerate the number of instances of exorcism.

13. **Ista ipsa . . . iste ipse . . . nisi.** There is some scorn implied in the emphasis of this sentence. Caelestis and Aesculapius, as we have seen, Introd. p. xi, and notes, ch. 12, 13, were deities especially connected with Carthage. 'That very goddess of yours, the Virgin Caelestis . . . that very Aesculapius . . . if these deities do not confess themselves to be daemons . . .'

14. **pollicitatrix.** A word of patristic latinity only; the masc. *pollicitator* occurs *adv. Jud.* 1.

**Aesculapius.** The temple of Aesculapius at Carthage is re-

demonstrator alia die morituris Socordio et Thanatio et Asclepiodoto vitae sumministrator,—nisi se daemones confessi fuerint, Christiano mentiri non audentes, ibidem illius Christiani procacissimi sanguinem fundite. Quid isto opere manifestius? quid hac probatione fidelius? simplicitas veritatis in medio est; virtus illi sua assistit; nihil suspicari licebit. Magia aut aliqua ejusmodi fallacia fieri dicetis, si oculi vestri et aures permiserint vobis. Quid autem inniti potest adversus id, quod ostenditur nuda sinceritate? Si altera parte vere dii sunt, cur sese daemonia mentiuntur? an ut nobis obsequantur? Jam ergo subjecta est Christianis divinitas vestra; nec utique divinitas deputanda est, quae subdita est homini, et si quid ad dedecus facit, aemulis suis. Si altera parte daemones sunt vel angeli, cur se alibi pro diis agere respondent? Nam sicut illi, qui dii habentur, daemones se dicere noluissent, si vere dii essent, scilicet, ne de majestate se deponerent: ita et isti, quos directo daemones nostis, non auderent alibi pro diis agere, si aliqui omnino dii essent, quorum nominibus utuntur; vererentur enim abuti majestate superiorum sine dubio et timendorum. Adeo nulla est divinitas ista quam tenetis, quia si esset, neque a daemoniis affectaretur, neque a diis negaretur. Cum ergo utraque pars concurrit in confessionem, deos esse negans, agnoscite unum genus esse, id est daemonas. Verum utrobique jam deos quaerite; quos enim praesumpseratis, daemonas esse cognoscitis. Eadem vero opera nostra ab eisdem diis vestris non tantum hoc detegentibus, quod neque ipsi

ferred to *de test. anim.* 2, 'sub Aesculapio stans,' *etc.*; it stood, as in old Carthage, on the Byrsine hill, though the special cult of this deity had now given place to that of Juno-Caelestis. Strabo xvii. 3. 15; Appian. viii. 30.

1. alia die morituris: 'only to die again to-morrow'; for this use of *alia die* see Capitol. *Anton. Pius* 12, 'nocte . . . alia die . . . tertia die'; *Maximin.* 17; Treb. Poll. *tyr. trig.* 8, 'una die factus est imperator, alia die visus est imperare, tertia interemptus est.'

24. Verum utrobique jam deos quaerite. 'On either hypothesis you must look out for some fresh gods.'

dii sint neque ulli alii, etiam illud in continenti cognoscitis, qui sit vere Deus, et an ille, et an unicus, quem Christiani profitemur, et an ita credendus colendusque, ut fides, ut disciplina disposita est Christianorum.

Dicent ibidem: Ecquis ille Christus cum sua fabula? si homo communis condicionis, si magus, si post mortem de sepulcro a discipulis subreptus, si nunc denique penes inferos, si non in caelis potius, et inde venturus cum totius mundi motu, cum horrore orbis, cum planctu omnium, sed non Christianorum, ut Dei Virtus et Dei Spiritus et Sermo et Sapientia et Ratio et Dei Filius. Quodcumque ridetis, rideant et illi vobiscum; negent Christum omnem ab aevo animam restituto corpore judicaturum. Dicant hoc pro tribunali, si forte, Minoën et Rhadamanthum secundum consensum Platonis et poetarum esse sortitos; suae saltem ignominiae et damnationis notam refutent: renuant se immundos spiritus esse, quod vel ex pabulis eorum sanguine et fumo et putidis rogis pecorum et impuratissimis linguis ipsorum vatum intelligi debuit; renuant ob malitiam praedamnatos se in eundem judicii diem cum omnibus cultoribus et operatoribus suis. Atqui omnis haec nostra in illos dominatio et potestas de nominatione Christi valet, et de com-

5. **Dicent ibidem: Ecquis.** 'They will say immediately: "And who is this Christ with his story?" as if He were a man of ordinary condition, as if . . .' An alternative reading gives 'Dicent ibidem quis ille Chr. cum sua fabula; si homo . . .' 'They (the daemons) will tell you at the same time who Christ is; whether or no He is a mere man . . .'

12. **rideant et illi vobiscum**: 'let them (if they dare) join in your ridicule.'

**ab aevo** = *a primordio*, 'from the beginning of the world.' See note, ch. 18.

13. **Dicant hoc pro tribunali.** 'Let them assert that Minos and Rhadamanthus (if it be so) have been appointed to this office of judgment. . . .'

17. **ex pabulis.** Comp. ch. 22.

19. **praedamnatos se in eundem judicii diem.** Comp. 2 Pet. ii. 4, 'in judicium reservari'; S. Matt. viii. 29.

21. **operatoribus suis.** In its technical religious sense, 'devotees.'

22. **de nominatione Christi.** S. Matt. vii. 22; S. Luke ix. 49; x. 17.

memoratione eorum, quae sibi a Deo per arbitrum Christum imminentia exspectant. Christum timentes in Deo, et Deum in Christo, subjiciuntur servis Dei et Christi. Ita de contactu deque afflatu nostro contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius correpti, etiam de corporibus nostro imperio excedunt inviti et dolentes, et vobis praesentibus erubescentes. Credite illis, cum verum de se loquuntur, qui mentientibus creditis. Nemo ad suum dedecus mentitur, quin potius ad honorem. Magis fides prona est adversus semetipsos confitentes, quam pro semetipsis negantes. Haec denique testimonia deorum vestrorum Christianos facere consueverunt, quia plurimum illis credendo Christo domino credimus. Ipsi litterarum nostrarum fidem accendunt, ipsi spei nostrae fidentiam aedificant. At colitis illos, quod sciam, etiam de sanguine Christianorum. Nollent itaque vos tam fructuosos, tam officiosos sibi amittere, vel ne a vobis quandoque Christianis fugentur, si illis sub Christiano, volente vobis veritatem probare, mentiri liceret.

## CAPUT XXIV.

Omnis ista confessio illorum, qua se deos negant esse, quaque non alium Deum respondent praeter Unum, cui

3. **Ita de contactu deque afflatu.** Referring to the ritual acts in the ceremony of exorcism: comp. the Greek rite mentioned in the (so-called) seventh canon of Constantinople (with Bright's notes, p. 187); and see Exorcism in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

4. **repraesentatione ignis illius correpti.** The formulae of exorcism generally contained a reference to the future punishment of the evil spirits. For the *ignis ille* see S. Matt. xxv. 41, 'Discedite a Me maledicti in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus.'

9. **Magis fides prona est adversus . . . negantes.** The construction is very harsh if the text be correct. Some edd. read *in* before *adversus*. Woodham understands *adversus* as = *erga*, and the argument to be 'credit is more easily given to those who confess that they are bad than to those who deny it.' 'Yet *pro semetipsis* seems to be meant to answer *adversus semetipsos*.'

nos mancipamur, satis idonea est ad depellendum crimen laesae maxime Romanae religionis. Si enim non sunt dii pro certo, nec religio pro certo est; si religio non est, quia nec dii pro certo, nec nos pro certo rei sumus laesae religionis. At e contrario in vos exprobratio resultabit, qui mendacium colentes, veram religionem veri Dei non modo negligendo, quin insuper expugnando, in verum committitis crimen verae irreligiositatis. Nunc, ut constaret illos deos esse, nonne conceditis de aestimatione communi aliquem esse sublimiorem et potentiorem velut principem mundi, perfectae potentiae et majestatis? Nam et sic plerique disponunt divinitatem, ut imperium summae dominationis esse penes unum, officia ejus penes multos velint; ut Plato Jovem magnum in caelo comitatum exercitu describit deorum pariter et daemonum. Itaque oportere et procurantes et praefectos et praesides pariter suspici. Et tamen quod facinus admittit, qui magis ad Caesarem promerendum et operam et spem suam transfert, nec appellationem dei ita ut imperatoris in alio quam principe confitetur, cum capitale esse judicetur alium praeter Caesarem et dicere et audire? Colat alius Deum, alius Jovem, alius ad caelum supplices manus tendat, alius ad aram Fidei, alius, si hoc putatis, nubes numeret

1. **satis idonea est**: 'is quite sufficient to refute the charge of attack upon religion, and especially the Roman religion.'

**ad depellendum.** *Depellere* is a technical military term for 'dislodging an enemy from his position'; comp. ch. 9, 24, 37.

**crimen laesae . . . religionis.** This answers to the *rei sacrilegii*, ch. 10, see note; and *crimen laesae divinitatis*, and *elogium irreligiositatis* below: maxime embraces both the general charge of 'atheism,' and the special neglect of the Roman gods.

7. **in verum committitis**: 'against the True One.' Or *verum* may be equivalent to *veritatem*: 'against the truth you commit the crime of real sacrilege.' *In Deum* and *in vero* are *var. lect.*

8. **ut constaret illos deos esse**: 'even although it were granted that they *were* gods.'

13. **ut Plato Jovem.** *Phaedr.* 56, *ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῷ δ' ἕπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων.*

16. **suspici**: 'looked up to'; see note, ch. 18.

22. **si hoc putatis**, *i.e.* if you so misunderstand the posture of one en-

orans, alius lacunaria, alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. Videte enim ne et hoc ad irreligiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem religionis et interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim, sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo quidem; atque adeo et Aegyptiis permissa est tam vanae superstitionis potestas, avibus et bestiis consecrandis, et capite damnandis qui aliquem hujusmodi deum occiderint. Unicuique etiam provinciae et civitati suus deus est, ut Syriae Atargatis, ut Arabiae Dusares, ut Noricis Belenus, ut Africae Caelestis, ut Mauritaniae Reguli sui. Romanas, ut opinor, provincias edidi, nec tamen Romanos deos earum,

gaged in prayer. Comp. ch. 40, 'nubila de laquearibus exspectatis'; and Juvenal xiv. 97.

2. **Videte enim . . . elogium concurrat**: 'Beware lest this action of yours (the taking away of liberty of worship, *etc.*) do not better accord with the criminal charge of irreligion.' *Concurrere* has this sense in the Digests (29. 2. 30; 29. 30. 53) and judicial latin. On *elogium* see note, ch. 2.

5. **Nemo se ab invito.** Comp. note, ch. 9, 28. Willingness of service is of the essence of worship; and it was the recognition of this principle that led to the accumulation of deities in the Pantheon, and to the toleration by the Romans of foreign national cults, as Tertullian goes on to show.

6. **Aegyptiis permissa est.** See note, ch. 6.

8. **capite damnandis . . . occiderint.** Herod. ii. 65.

9. **Unicuique etiam provinciae.** Comp. the statement of Celsus that a universal religion was an impossible dream: Orig. *contr. Cels.* v. 25; viii. 72.

10. **Atargatis** = 'Ατάργατις, a Syrian deity, half female, half fish, called also Derceto, Δερκετώ. Comp. *ad Nat.* ii. 8; Plin. v. 23. 19; Ovid. *Metam.* iv. 45; Diod. Sic. ii. 4. Some edd. here read *Astartis.*

**Dusares.** This deity, supposed to correspond with the Roman Bacchus, is joined with Obodan, another Arabian god, *ad Nat.* ii. 8.

**Belenus.** A deity worshipped in Noricum and Aquileia. Comp. Capitol. *Maxim.* 22.

11. **Caelestis.** See note, ch. 12.

**Mauritaniae Reguli sui.** Juba, a king of Mauritania and Numidia (Sueton. *Jul. Caes.* 66) and his son Juba II. (Sueton. *Calig.* 26). Comp. Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 5; Eutrop. vi. 18; Florus iv. 2; Lucan. iv. 672. So Min. Fel. 23, 'et Juba, Mauris volentibus, deus est'; Lact. i. 15.

quia Romae non magis coluntur, quam qui per ipsam quoque Italiam municipali consecratione censentur: Casiniensium Delventinus, Narniensium Visidianus, Aesculanorum Ancharia, Volsiniensium Nortia, Ocriculanorum Valentia, Sutrinorum Hostia, Faliscorum in honorem patris Curis, unde accepit cognomen, Juno. Sed nos soli arcemur a religionis proprietate. Laedimus Romanos, nec Romani habemur, quia non Romanorum deum colimus. Bene, quod omnium Deus est, cujus, velimus aut nolimus, omnes sumus. Sed apud vos quodvis colere jus est, praeter verum Deum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit Deus, cujus omnes sumus.

## CAPUT XXV.

SATIS mihi quidem videor probasse de falsa et vera divinitate, cum demonstravi, quemadmodum probatio consistat, non modo disputationibus nec argumentationibus, sed ipsorum etiam testimoniis, quos deos creditis, ut nihil jam ad hanc caussam sit retractandum. Quoniam tamen Romani

2. **municipali consecratione**: 'are created gods by municipal consecration'; so Min. Fel. 6 applies the term *dii municipes* contemptuously to provincial deities.

**Casiniensum . . . Juno.** The text in this passage bristles with variations, and is probably corrupt. Little is known of these local gods; *Nortia* is mentioned Juven. x. 74, Liv. vii. 3. The cognomen of Juno referred to is *Curitis,* a word of Sabine origin, connected with *curis* or *quiris,* 'a spear.' **honorem** should probably be *honore.*

6. **arcemur a religionis proprietate**: 'we are excluded from a right of possession in a religion of our own.' *Proprietas* bears its legal sense. Tertullian claims religious liberty in a civil sense for all. Yet the very nature of the Christian religion prevented it taking its place as a sister-religion to the national cults of the empire. Comp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 24; Athenag. *leg. pro Chr.* 1. 14.

17. **sit retractandum**: 'to be considered.' This word has already occurred in this sense, ch. 3, 4, 11, 21; see, too, ch. 39, note; *Scorp.* 7; *de pat.* 4; *adv. Valent.* 5. It implies a careful consideration and reexamination, and is so used by Augustine in the title of his 'Retractationes,' the noble review of his own writings, thoughts, and mistakes. Cicero employs it similarly, *e.g. de nat. deor.* ii. 28. 72; *pro Mur.* 26. 54; *epp. ad Att.* viii. 9. 3. Sueton. (*Octav.* 34) applies it to a revision of the laws.

nominis proprie mentio occurrit, non omittam congressionem, quam provocat illa praesumptio dicentium Romanos pro merito religiositatis diligentissimae in tantum sublimitatis elatos, ut orbem occuparint, et adeo deos esse, ut praeter ceteros floreant, qui illis officium praeter ceteros faciant. Scilicet ista merces Romanis a diis pro gratia expensa est: Sterculius, et Mutunus, et Larentina provexit imperium! Peregrinos enim deos non putem extraneae genti magis fautum voluisse quam suae, et patrium solum, in quo nati, adulti, nobilitati, sepultique sunt, transfretanis dedisse. Viderit Cybele, si urbem Romanam ut memoriam Trojani generis adamavit, vernaculi sui scilicet adversus Achivorum arma protecti, si ad ultores transire prospexit, quos sciebat Graeciam Phrygiae debellatricem subacturos. Itaque majestatis suae in urbem collatae grande documentum nostrae etiam aetati proposuit, cum Marco Aurelio apud Sirmium reipublicae exempto, die decimo sexto Kalendarum Aprilium,

1. **congressionem**: 'an argumentative contest.' Comp. the use of *concurrere*, ch. 4; and of *congredi*, ch. 46; Lactant. *Epit. Div. Inst.* 52.

2. **Romanos pro merito . . . elatos.** Comp. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 6. 5 ff.; and see Wordsworth, *Ch. Hist.* iii. 260, on the sense in which Roman prosperity *was* due to Roman religion.

4. **et adeo deos esse, ut**: 'and that their gods really exist to such good purpose, that . . .'

7. **Sterculius, et Mutunus.** Deities associated with filth and obscenity; Macrob. i. 7; Lactant. i. 20; August. *de civ. Dei* iv. 11; viii. 15. Mutinus or Tutinus is an appellation of Priapus. Larentina has been mentioned, ch. 13.

11. **Viderit Cybele**: 'No matter if Cybele . . .' Comp. note on *viderit*, ch. 16. The intense irony of this passage will not be overlooked.

13. **si ad ultores transire prospexit**: 'if she had sufficient foresight to pass over . . .' Cybele was originally a Phrygian deity, whose worship was subsequently adopted at Rome, where she was termed 'Mater Magna.' Her image was conveyed from Pessinus to Rome in a vessel, as referred to ch. 22 *ad fin.*; see note.

16. **Marco Aurelio.** Marcus Aurelius died March 17, 180, of a fever caught during the German expedition, at Vienna, according to Aur. Victor, *de Caesar.* 16, 'Vendobonae interiit.' See the account of his death in Capitol. *M. Ant. phil.* 28; Zonar. xii. 2; Merivale *Hist. Rom.* viii. 347.

Archigallus ille sanctissimus, die nono Kalendarum earundem, quo sanguinem impurum, lacertos quoque castrando libabat, pro salute imperatoris Marci jam intercepti solita aeque imperia mandavit. O nuntios tardos, o somniculosa diplomata, quorum vitio excessum imperatoris non ante Cybele cognovit, ne deam talem riderent Christiani. Sed non statim et Jupiter Cretam suam Romanis fascibus concuti sineret, oblitus antrum illud Idaeum, et aera Corybantia, et jucundissimum illic nutricis suae odorem. Nonne omni Capitolio tumulum illum suum praeposuisset, ut ea potius orbi terra praecelleret, quae cineres Jovis texit? Vellet Juno Punicam urbem posthabita Samo dilectam ab Aeneadarum utique genere deleri? Quod si

Hic illius arma,
Hic currus fuit, hoc regnum dea gentibus esse,
Si qua fata sinant, jam tum tenditque fovetque.

Misera illa conjunx Jovis et soror adversus fata non valuit plane:

Fato stat Jupiter ipse.

Nec tantum tamen honoris Romani dicaverunt fatis dedentibus sibi Carthaginem adversus destinatum votumque Junonis, quantum prostitutissimae lupae Larentinae.

Plures deos vestros regnasse certum est. Igitur si con-

1. **Archigallus.** The arch-priest of Cybele.

2. **lacertos quoque.** See notes, ch. 9, 23; comp. 1 Kings xvii. 28.

5. **excessum imperatoris.** See note, ch. 22.

8. **antrum Idaeum.** The Idaean cave in Crete, where the infant Jupiter was hidden from Saturn, guarded by the Curetes, and fed by the she-wolf Amalthaea (*nutrix sua*). Ovid *Met.* iv. 289 ff.; Verg. *Aen.* vii. 139.

**aera Corybantia.** The brazen cymbals of the Corybantes, or worshippers of Cybele, here identified with the Curetes, the original inhabitants of Crete, who were devotees of that goddess. Comp. Verg. *Aen.* iii. 111 ff.

14. **Hic illius arma.** Verg. *Aen.* i. 16.

19. **Fato stat Jupiter ipse.** Comp. Herod. i. 91; Aesch. *Prom.* 518; Lact. ii. 17.

23. **Plures deos vestros.** 'Many of your gods,' says Tertullian, 'certainly reigned on earth. If they now possess the power of conferring empire, from whom did they receive sovereignty when they

ferendi imperii tenent potestatem, cum ipsi regnarent, a quibus acceperant eam gratiam? quem coluerat Saturnus et Jupiter? aliquem opinor Sterculium [sed Romae postea], cum indigenis suis. Etiam si qui non regnarunt, tamen regnabatur ab aliis nondum cultoribus suis, ut qui nondum dii habebantur. Ergo aliorum est regnum dare, quia regnabatur multo ante quam isti dii inciderentur.

Sed quam vanum est fastigium Romani nominis religiositatis meritis deputare, cum post imperium sive adhuc regnum [auctis jam rebus] religio profecerit. Nam etsi a Numa concepta est curiositas superstitiosa, nondum tamen

reigned? Whom did your gods once worship? Some Sterculius, I suppose, in order to be honoured at Rome. Even if some of the gods did not reign, yet there were rulers who did not worship them, simply because they did not then exist as gods. It is not therefore in the power of your gods to confer empire, for empires existed prior to them.'

3. **[sed Romae postea.]** The MSS. vary and the passage is probably corrupt. The meaning is that some Roman god like Sterculius had to be afterwards honoured by the gods at Rome (in order to win the worship of the Romans) along with their own native deities, who had previously conferred sovereignty upon them elsewhere.

7. **inciderentur**: 'were inscribed,' as gods on their statues and images. Comp. ch. 50, 'statuas defunditis et imagines inscribitis et titulos inciditis.'

8. **Sed quam vanum est.** Another point is now taken up: 'the grandeur of your empire cannot be the reward of your religious scrupulosity, for your elaborate religion is of later growth than your empire.'

**fastigium ... deputare**: 'to attribute the dignity of the Roman name to the deserts of piety'; see notes on *deputare*, ch. 20, 21.

10. **Nam etsi a Numa.** This is another *argumentum ad hominem.*

The wealth of religious ceremonial in Tertullian's day is urged as a proof of greater piety than existed in the early days of Rome, when the worship of the gods was conducted in a humbler style. Tertullian is not seriously arguing that the depth of national piety is proportioned to the national wealth; though as a matter of fact where wealth and piety co-exist, the necessary forms by which the latter is expressed will naturally be embellished by the former. Comp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* iii. 17. 43.

11. **curiositas.** A rare word: it is used *de praescr. haer.* 7, 'nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum'; and *ib.* 14, in the sense of 'inquisitiveness.' Here it means 'superstitious assiduity,'

aut simulacris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat; frugi religio et pauperes ritus, et nulla Capitolia certantia caelo, sed temeraria de caespite altaria, et vasa adhuc Samia, et nidor ex illis, et deus ipse nusquam. Nondum enim tunc ingenia Graecorum atque Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverant. Ergo non ante religiosi Romani, quam magni; ideoque non ob hoc magni, quia religiosi. Atqui quomodo ob religionem magni, quibus magnitudo de irreligiositate provenit? Ni fallor enim, omne regnum vel imperium bellis quaeritur et victoriis propagatur. Porro bella et victoriae captis et eversis plurimum urbibus constant. Id negotium sine deorum injuria non est. Eaedem strages moenium et templorum, pares caedes civium et sacerdotum, nec dissimiles rapinae sacrarum divitiarum et profanarum. Tot igitur sacrilegia Romanorum, quot tropaea; tot de diis, quot de gentibus triumphi; tot manubiae, quot manent adhuc simulacra captivorum deorum. Et ab hostibus ergo suis sustinent adorari, et illis imperium sine fine decernunt, quorum magis injurias quam adolationes remunerasse

'religious scrupulousness.' Above, ch. 23, it has the modern sense of 'quaintness'; below, ch. 47, that of 'meddlesome fancy.'

2. **frugi religio.** The old Roman religion was homely, and the deities were gods of households, of fields, of woods. Comp. the section *de frugalitate*, Val. Max. ii. 5. On the healthier and purer character of the old Roman religion see Dionys. Halic. *Arch.* ii. 18; Tibull. i. x. 19.

**nulla Capitolia.** Martial x. 51. 13.

3. **vasa Samia,** *i.e.* 'earthenware,' for which the isle of Samos was celebrated; Tibull. i. 1. 39; Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 7.

4. **deus ipse,** *i.e. simulacrum,* 'the image.' For nearly two centuries images were unknown in Rome, and on their first introduction were made of wood or clay; Plin. *l. c.*, 'Mirumque mihi videtur cum statuorum origo tam vetus in Italia sit lignea potius aut fictilia deorum simulacra in delubris dicata usque ad devictam Asiam, unde luxuria.' Comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15; Euseb. *praep. evang.* ix. 3; August. *de civ. Dei* iv. 9, 31; Juven. vi. 1, 346 ff.

5. **ingenia.** See note, ch. 15; comp. *de spect.* 5; Plin. *l. c.*

12. **Eaedem strages.** Comp. ch. 40, 'eaedem clades templorum,' *etc.*

14. **rapinae sacrarum divitiarum.** Comp. Liv. xxv. 40.

18. **sustinent adorari**: 'they tolerate the worship even of their enemies.' See note, ch. 8.

19. **adolationes**: =adorationes; *adolere* in sacrificial language being

debuerant. Sed qui nihil sentiunt, tam impune laeduntur, quam frustra coluntur. Certe non potest fidei convenire, ut religionis meritis excrevisse videantur, qui, ut suggessimus, religionem aut laedendo creverunt, aut crescendo laeserunt. Etiam illi, quorum regna conflata sunt in imperii Romani summam, cum ea amitterent, sine religionibus non fuerunt.

## CAPUT XXVI.

VIDETE igitur ne ille regna dispenset, cujus est et orbis qui regnatur, et homo ipse qui regnat; ne ille vices dominationum ipsis temporibus in saeculo ordinarit, qui ante omne tempus fuit et saeculum corpus temporum fecit; ne ille civitates extollat aut deprimat, sub quo fuit aliquando sine civitatibus genus hominum. Quid erratis? prior est quibusdam diis suis silvestris Roma; ante regnavit quam tantum ambitum Capitolii exstrueret. Regnaverunt et Babylonii ante pontifices, et Medi ante quindecimviros, et Aegyptii ante Salios, et Assyrii ante Lupercos, et Amazones ante virgines Vestales. Postremo, si Romanae religiones regna praestant, numquam retro Judaea regnasset despectrix communium istarum divinitatum, cujus et Deum victimis, et

synonymous with *honorare, propitiare, colere*; see Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* i. 704; Non. Marc. 58. 21.

1. **Sed qui nihil sentiunt.** Comp. ch. 12.

3. **ut suggessimus.** Comp. ch. 18, note.

11. **saeculum corpus temporum**: 'the course of this world, the embodiment of times and seasons and events.' See note, ch. 18.

14. **silvestris Roma.** Cp. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 347 ff.

15. **ambitum Capitolii.** Alluding to the earliest enclosure of Tarquinius Priscus, about B.C. 600.

**exstrueret.** The MSS. all read *exstrueretur.*

16. **quindecimviros.** The 'fifteen,' to whom was committed the care of the Sibylline books.

17. **Salios.** The Salii were a college of priests at Rome dedicated by Numa to the service of Mars; Liv. i. 20.

**Lupercos.** The priests of the Lycean Pan.

**Amazones.** The warlike women of the river Thermodon. Comp. Verg. *Aen.* xi. 659.

templum donis, et gentem foederibus aliquamdiu Romani honorastis, numquam dominaturi ejus, si non ultimo deliquisset in Christum.

## CAPUT XXVII.

SATIS haec adversus intentionem laesae religionis ac divinitatis, quo non videamur laedere eam, quam ostendimus non esse. Igitur, provocati ad sacrificandum, obstruimus gradum pro fide conscientiae nostrae, qua certi sumus, ad quos ista perveniant officia sub imaginum prostitutione et humanorum nominum consecratione. Sed quidam dementiam existimant, quod cum possimus et sacrificare in praesenti, et illaesi abire manente apud animum proposito, obstinationem saluti praeferamus. Datis scilicet consilium, quo vobis abutamur; sed agnoscimus, unde talia suggerantur, quis totum hoc agitet, et quomodo nunc astutia suadendi nunc

1. **templum donis.** By Agrippa; Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 2.
**gentem foederibus.** Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, 17. Comp. xii. 17; xiii. 8, 12; xiv. 22.

2. **si non ultimo,** *etc.* The majority of the MSS. read *si Deo non deliquerit, ultimo in Christum.*

5. **intentionem.** A forensic term, 'the charge,' or 'accusation'; ch. 46 *ad init.*, and so used by Cicero and Quintilian; more exactly and technically 'the judgment of the court appealed against,' Digest. 10. 4. 9.

7. **obstruimus gradum**: 'we meet it with opposition'; comp. *obstruit viam,* ch. 1; the expression recurs *de virg. vel.* 15, *de praesc. haer.* 15.

8. **pro fide.** Al. *perfidiae;* which would mean 'lest treachery should taint our conscientiousness.'

10. **Sed quidam dementiam.** See ch. 1 *ad fin.*, and note; comp. Euseb. iv. 15; vii. 11.

12. **obstinationem.** Comp. the passage of Pliny's Letter to Trajan quoted in the last note on ch. 1, and note on *praesumptio,* ch. 10. The charge was not an uncommon one; see *ad Nat.* i. 17, 18; Lactant. v. 2, 9; and below, ch. 50, 'desperatio et perditio'; and, 'illa ipsa obstinatio quam exprobratis'; Min. Fel. 8; Orig. *contr. Cels.* viii. 54. Comp. Gibbon ii. 227, 243.

14. **unde talia suggerantur**: 'the source of such instigations.' See note, ch. 18.

15. **nunc astutia suadendi.** Such persuasions as were addressed to

duritia saeviendi ad constantiam nostram dejiciendam operetur. Ille scilicet spiritus daemoniacae et angelicae paraturae, qui noster ob divortium aemulus et ob Dei gratiam invidus, de mentibus vestris adversus nos proeliatur, occulta inspiratione, modulatis et subornatis ad omnem, quam in primordio exorsi sumus, et judicandi perversitatem et saeviendi iniquitatem. Nam licet subjecta sit nobis tota vis daemonum et ejusmodi spirituum ut nequam tamen servi metui nonnunquam contumaciam miscent, et laedere gestiunt quos alias verentur: odium enim etiam timor inspirat, praeterquam quod desperata condicio eorum ex praedamnatione solatium reputat fruendae interim malignitatis de poenae mora. Et tamen apprehensi subiguntur et condicioni suae succidunt, et quos de longinquo oppugnant, de proximo obsecrant. Itaque dum vice rebellantium ergastulorum sive carcerum, vel metallorum, vel hoc genus poenalis servitutis erumpunt adversus nos, in quorum potestate sunt, certi et impares se esse et hoc magis perditos ingratis resistimus ut aequales, et repugnamus perseverantes in eo quod oppugnant, et illos nunquam magis

S. Polycarp by Quadratus: *Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν ἡλικίαν· καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα ἃ σύνηθες αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ λέγειν, etc.*; and to Dionysius by Aemilianus, Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15. 15; vii. 11. Persuasions too were often tried upon the young.

1. **nunc duritia saeviendi.** Eusebius' account of the martyrdom of S. Polycarp furnishes instances of the alternate persuasions and threats which were brought to bear upon Christian confessors. Comp., with the passage quoted in the last note, *ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπε, θηρία ἔχω· τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς.* (*H. E.* iv. 15. 18.)

**ad . . . dejiciendam.** See note, ch. 21.

2. **paraturae** = naturae.

3. **qui noster ob divortium aemulus.** See notes, ch. 2.

4. **de mentibus . . . proeliatur,** *i.e.* using your minds as a position from which to attack us.

13. **condicioni suae succidunt**: 'succumb to their fate.'

15. **vice rebellantium**: 'after the manner of . . .' Comp. 'Dei vice,' ch. 34.

**ergastulorum.** *Ergastula* = 'penitentiary convicts'; *ergastulum* is 'a prison work-house for debtors, slaves, and criminals.' Juv. xiv. 24.

**metallorum.** See note, ch. 12; and below, ch. 44.

detriumphamus, quam quum pro fidei obstinatione damnamur.

## CAPUT XXVIII.

Quoniam autem facile iniquum videretur, liberos homines invitos urgeri ad sacrificandum (nam et alias divinae rei faciundae libens animus indicitur): certe ineptum existimaretur, si quis ab alio cogeretur ad honorem deorum, quos ultro sui caussa placare deberet, ne prae manu esset jure libertatis dicere: Nolo mihi Jovem propitium: tu, quis es? me conveniat Janus iratus ex qua velit fronte; quid tibi mecum est? Formati estis ab iisdem utique spiritibus, ut nos pro salute imperatoris sacrificare cogatis, et imposita et tam vobis necessitas cogendi, quam nobis obligatio periclitandi. Ventum est igitur ad secundum titulum laesae

1. **fidei obstinatione.** This construction is employed by Tacitus with a similar signification, *Hist.* iii. 39, 'Blaeso . . . fidei obstinatio fuit.'

6. **libens animus indicitur.** See note, ch. 9.

10. **me conveniat,** *etc.* 'Let Janus meet me threateningly with whichever front he will.' Comp. Pers. *Sat.* i. 58 ff., 'O Jane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit,' *etc.*

13. **obligatio.** A word almost confined to juridical (and patristic) latin. It is found in the Digests in the sense of 'an obligatory relation involving two parties'; here it used simply for 'duty.'

14. **Ventum est igitur.** The first great charge, that of Sacrilege, has now been disposed of; and Tertullian turns to the second indictment alluded to, ch. 10, that of Disloyalty to the emperor and the state (ch. 28–38). Emperor-worship, such as had been claimed by Caligula, Nero, and Domitian (Sueton. *Calig.* 22; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 74; Sueton. *Dom.* 13), when developed and extended, soon became of more importance than the worship of the national gods (see ch. 34, and notes). The emperor was regarded as the incarnation and idealization of all sovereign power, and, as such, was considered to be himself essentially divine. Disloyalty was therefore a more serious indictment than Sacrilege, not only in the view of the highest officials, but also in that of the populace. Comp. *ad Nat.* i. 17. It was a sin against the commonwealth, and the Christians were branded with the reproach of being bad subjects, *hostes publici* (ch. 35).

**titulum.** See note, ch. 44.

augustioris majestatis, siquidem majore formidine et callidiore timiditate Caesarem observatis, quam ipsum de Olympo Jovem, et merito si sciatis. Quis enim ex viventibus non quolibet mortuo tuo potior? Sed nec hoc vos ratione facitis potius quam respectu praesentaneae potestatis, adeo et in isto irreligiosi erga deos vestros deprehendimini, qui plus timoris humano dominio dicatis. Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos, quam per unum genium Caesaris pejeratur.

## CAPUT XXIX.

CONSTET igitur prius, si isti, quibus sacrificatur, salutem imperatori vel cuilibet homini impertiri possunt, et ita nos crimini addicite. Si angeli aut daemones, substantia pessimi spiritus, beneficium aliquod operantur, si perditi conservant, si damnati liberant, si denique (quod in conscientia vestra est) mortui vivos tuentur: jam utique suas primo statuas et imagines et aedes tuerentur, quae, opinor Caesarum milites

1. **callidiore timiditate**: 'with a more calculating fearfulness'; comp. *ad Nat.* i. 17, 'secunda religio constituitur Caesarianae majestatis'; Min. Fel. 29. Cod. Fuld. reads *calidiore.*

2. **de Olympo Jovem.** Sc. *regentem.*

3. **et merito si sciatis**: 'and rightly too, if you only knew it.'

5. **praesentaneae**: 'of quick execution,' 'that operates quickly'; used of poison by Plin. *N. H.* xxiv. 1; of a remedy, *id. ib.* 21, 31, 105; comp. Sueton. *Nero* 33. *Repraesentaneae* is a *var. lect.*, and according to the dictionaries would be a ἅπαξ λεγ., 'out of regard for a present power'; see note, ch. 17.

8. **pejeratur.** *Pejeratio per genium Caesaris* was a criminal offence punishable by beating; *pejeratio per deos* was unrecognized by Roman law. See a list of punishable offences against the deified Augustus, Sueton. *Tib.* 58. On swearing by the genius of the emperor, see notes, ch. 9, 32.

10. **Constet igitur prius, si** = *utrum necne,* 'whether or no those to whom . . .; and so in this way (*et ita*) pronounce us guilty.'

12. **substantia pessimi spiritus**: 'spirits, in essence most depraved.'

13. **si perditi conservant.** Comp. *de cult. fem.* i. 2; S. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 1, for similarly constructed antithetic sentences.

16. **Caesarum milites excubiis.** Comp. *de coron.* 11, 'excubabit pro templis quibus renuntiavit'? The temples were used as depositories of private valuables as well as of sacred treasures, and were guarded by soldiers. Comp. Arnob. vi. 21; Juv. xiv. 261; S. Cypr. *ad Demetr.* 3.

excubiis suis salva praestant. Puto autem, hae ipsae materiae de metallis Caesarum veniunt, et tota templa de nutu Caesaris constant. Multi denique dii habuerunt Caesarem iratum. Facit ad caussam, si et propitium, cum illis aliquid aut liberalitatis aut privilegii, confert. Ita qui sunt in Caesaris potestate, cujus et toti sunt, quomodo habebunt salutem Caesaris in potestate, ut eam praestare posse videantur, quam facilius ipsi a Caesare consequantur? Ideo ergo committimus in majestatem imperatorum, quia illos non subjicimus rebus suis; quia non ludimus de officio salutis eorum, qui eam non putamus in manibus esse plumbatis. Sed vos religiosi, qui eam quaeritis ubi non est, petitis a quibus dari non potest, praeterito eo in cujus est potestate. Insuper eos debellatis, qui eam sciunt petere, qui etiam possunt impetrare, dum sciunt petere.

## CAPUT XXX.

Nos enim pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus aeternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem et ipsi imperatores propitium sibi praeter ceteros malunt. Sciunt, quis illis dederit imperium; sciunt, qua homines, quis et animam; sentiunt, eum Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et

1. **hae ipsae materiae de metallis.** Comp. note, ch. 12.

2. **tota templa de nutu Caesaris.** Sueton. *Calig.* 22.

5. **qui sunt in Caesaris potestate.** Comp. *ad Scap.* 2.

9. **committimus in majestatem**: 'we sin against . . .'; *committere* is used *absol.* by Cicero *in Verr.* ii. 1. 43; more usually *committere contra legem, in legem* or *lege.*

11. **plumbatis**: 'soldered with lead'; comp. ch. 12, 'ante plumbum et glutinum et gomphos sine capite sunt dii vestri.'

12. **religiosi.** Ironically, as in ch. 6 *init.* *Irreligiosi* is a *var. lect.*, carrying out the charge as retorted in ch. 24.

14. **eos debellatis.** See note, ch. 5.

17. **Nos enim pro salute.** Comp. *ad Scap.* 2; and note below.

19. **Sciunt, quis,** *etc.* Sc. *qua imperatores*; 'they are well aware (as emperors) who gave them their imperial power; as men, who gave them life'; comp. ch. 5, 'qua et homo.' Plin. *Paneg.* 1, 52.

22. **a quo sunt secundi.** The empire was regarded in various

super omnes deos. Quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt et mortuis antistant. Recogitant, quousque vires imperii sui valeant, et ita Deum intelligunt; adversus quem valere non possunt, per eum valere se cognoscunt. Caelum denique debellet imperator, caelum captivum triumpho suo invehat, caelo mittat excubias, caelo vectigalia imponat. Non potest; ideo magnus est, quia caelo minor est. Illius enim est ipse, cujus et caelum est et omnis creatura. Inde est imperator, unde est et homo antequam imperator; inde potestas illi, unde et spiritus. Illuc suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de

aspects by the Christians. Here it is viewed as holding its position under the Divine counsels, and the emperor as appointed by God (ch. 33): in ch. 31, as necessary for the stability of the Church, and (ch. 32) its continuance as delaying the end. Yet underneath all this there lay the feeling that the empire of the world was essentially the rival and opponent of ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. See Westcott's essay, 'The Two Empires,' in his *Epist. of S. John.*

3. **intelligunt.** See note, ch. 12.

5. **Caelum denique debellet.** A *reductio ad impossibile.*

11. **manibus expansis.** Comp. *de orat.* 14, 'Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus e Dominica passione modulatum, et orantes confitemur Christo.' We have seen, ch. 16, that Christians turned to the East in the act of prayer; and from *de coron.* 3 and *ad Scap.* 4 it appears that they usually prayed in a kneeling posture, except on the Lord's Day, and during the fifty days of the season of 'Pentecost'; comp. *de orat.* 23; and see Canon XX. of Nicaea, with Bright's note.

**capite nudo.** This refers to men only; see *de virg. vel.* 2, 3, 8; *de coron.* 4. Comp. S. Cypr. *de laps.* 1.

12. **sine monitore**: 'without a prompter,' such as the magistrates had at their side on occasions of state sacrifices to dictate the exact formulae (*praeeuntes*); Plin. *N. H.* xxxviii. 2. The largesses (*congiaria*, ch. 35), too, which were necessary to elicit acclamations from the people on the emperor's behalf, were 'prompters' of great efficiency. Tertullian contrasts the perfunctory rites of the heathen with the spontaneous prayers of the Christians for the emperor's safety (comp. ch. 39; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 6). It is a strange misconception which sees in his words an argument against prescribed forms of prayer, which he elsewhere recognizes (comp. ch. 39; *de orat.* 1; *de bapt.* 13; *de anim.* 9. Bingham xiii. 5. 5.

pectore oramus. Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quaecumque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt. Haec ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo scio me consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus praestat, et ego sum cui impetrare debetur, famulus ejus, qui eum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam ejus occidor, qui ei offero opimam et majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudica, de anima innocenti, de spiritu sancto profectam. Non grana turis unius assis, Arabicae arboris lacrimas, nec duas meri guttas, nec sanguinem reprobi bovis mori optantis, et post omnia inquinamenta etiam conscientiam spurcam: ut mirer, cum hostiae probantur penes vos a vitiosissimis sacerdotibus, cur praecordia potius victimarum, quam ipsorum sacrificantium examinentur. Sic itaque nos ad Deum

1. **Precantes .... semper pro imp.** Comp. Acta procons. S. Cyprian, 'deprecamur diebus ac noctibus . . . pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum'; Dionysius (*apud* Euseb. vii. 11); Polyc. *ad Phil.* 12; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 17; Orig. *contr. Cels.* viii. 73; Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* i. 61.

9. **opimam et majorem hostiam.** Comp. *de orat.* 27, 'saturatam orationem velut optimam hostiam admovere'; *ib.* 28, 'haec est enim hostia spiritalis quae pristina sacrificia delevit.' Heb. xiii. 15.

10. **de spiritu sancto**: 'from a pious spirit.'

11. **Non grana turis.** Comp. ch. 42, 'Tura plane non emimus'; S. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 8; S. August. *enarr. in Ps. xlix.* The ritual use of incense was closely identified with idolatry in Tertullian's day, and formed 'a chief test in the persecutions of the Christians'; comp. Jerom. *Ep.* 14. It had, however, its non-ritual uses; compare *de coron.* 10, 'si me odor alicujus loci offenderit, Arabiae aliquid incendo'; and it was doubtless employed in the catacombs and caves in which the early Christians held their assemblies. See Incense in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

12. **duas meri guttas.** Comp. Sueton. *Galba*, 18.

**reprobi bovis.** Comp. ch. 14, 'cum enecta et tabidosa et scabiosa quaeque mactatis.' *Reprobi* is found only in late latin; it is applied to false money in the Digests, 13. 7. 24; and in the Vulg. to money, and things rejected as useless, Jerem. vi. 30; 2 Tim. iii. 8.

16. **Sic itaque nos ad Deum.** See the pass. ch. 12, enumerating the tortures of the Christians, and compare the terms of reproach *sarmenticii et semaxii*, ch. 50, with notes.

expansos ungulae fodiant, cruces suspendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, bestiae insiliant; paratus est ad omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani. Hoc agite, boni praesides, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore. Hic erit crimen, ubi veritas est Dei et devotio.

## CAPUT XXXI.

ADULATI nunc sumus imperatori; et mentiti vota, quae diximus, ad evadendam scilicet vim. Plane proficit ista fallacia. Admittitis enim nos probare quodcumque defendimus. Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Caesarum curare, inspice Dei voces, litteras nostras, quas neque ipsi supprimimus et plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis, praeceptum esse nobis ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste: *Orate*, inquit, *pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus,*

3. **ipse habitus orantis**: 'the very posture of the praying Christian is a ready attitude for every punishment.' Kneeling is the posture of defencelessness; or the reference may be to the arms expanded like those of Christ on the cross. Comp. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 13.

**Hoc agite.** A formula of the religious ceremonies appointed by Numa to be pronounced at the moment of sacrifice; Ovid *Fast.* i. 321; lit. 'despatch the victim.' This solemn call of the priest rivetted the attention of the people; hence the expression = 'Attend!' and so, 'Pursue your course!' 'Proceed!' It recurs ch. 50.

5. **Hic erit . . . devotio.** This sentence was expunged by Rig.; the text is the reading of Cod. Fuld.; other MSS. give *veritas et Dei devotio est.*

8. **Plane proficit ista fallacia**: 'If this *is* a deceit of ours, it is clearly of advantage to us, for you must allow us to bring proofs with respect to what we maintain.'

11. **litteras nostras.** Sc. *sacras.*

14. **pro inimicis Deum orare.** S. Matt. v. 44; 1 Cor. iv. 12, 13; 1 S. Pet. iii. 9.

18. **Orate, inquit.** Sc. *Apostolus.* 1 Tim. ii. 2; Tit. iii. 1; comp. 1 S. Pet. ii. 13; Rom. xiii. 1.

*ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis.* Cum enim concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris ejus, utique et nos, licet extranei a turbis, in aliquo loco casus invenimur.

## CAPUT XXXII.

Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem, ipsamque clausulam saeculi acerbitates horrendas comminantem Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari. Ita quae nolumus experiri, ea dum precamur differri, Romanae diuturnitati favemus. Sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem

7. **ipsamque clausulam saeculi.** 2 Thess. ii. 2–11; so below, ch. 39, 'oramus . . . pro mora finis'; and *ad Scap.* 2. Yet in *de orat.* 5 appears the complementary desire for the coming of Christ's Kingdom, 'Itaque si ad Dei voluntatem et ad nostram suspensionem pertinet regni Dominici repraesentatio, quomodo quidam protractum quemdam saeculo postulant, cum regni Dei, quod ut adveniat oramus, ad consummationem saeculi tendat? Optamus maturius regnare et non diutius servire.' Comp. *de res. carn.* 24; Lactant. vii. 25. On *saeculi* see note, ch. 18.

9. **commeatu.** Passing through several transfers of meaning the word *commeatus* comes to signify, as here, 'an interval of postponement,' 'a delay' (Woodham, happily, 'a respite'); and so ch. 48, 'commeatus deliberandi saepe frustratus,' 'having used to no purpose several extensions of time granted to him for deliberation'; *de paenit.* 6 (of the interval before Baptism), 'et commeatum sibi faciunt deliquendi'; *Scorp.* 10; *adv. Prax.* 1.

**retardari.** It was a common belief in the early Church that *τὸ κατέχον*, 'that which letteth,' 2 Thes. ii. 6, was to be interpreted of the civil power and government of Rome. Comp. S. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* xv. 11, 12; S. Jerom. *Ep. ad Algas.* 121; S. August. *de civ. Dei* xx. 19; S. Chrys. and Theodor. *comm. ad loc.*

11. **juramus . . . non per genios.** See notes, ch. 9, 28. To swear by the genius of the emperor and to invoke him as 'Lord,' was the prescribed form of indicating loyalty; to the Christian this seemed to infringe on the prerogatives of God, and it was therefore declined as apostasy; see Mart. S. Polyc. 9, *ὄμοσον καὶ ἀπολύω σε· λοιδόρησον τὸν Χριστόν.* Euseb. iv. 15. 14, *Ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην.* Comp. Orig. *contr. Cels.* viii. 65.

**ita per salutem.** The phrase may mean simply 'we pledge our

eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios daemonas dici, et inde diminutiva voce daemonia? Nos judicium Dei suspicimus in imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos praefecit. Id in eis scimus esse, quod Deus voluit, ideoque et salvum volumus esse, quod Deus voluit, et pro magno id juramento habemus. Ceterum daemonas, id est genios, adjurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non dejerare, ut illis honorem divinitatis conferamus.

## CAPUT XXXIII.

SED quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christiana in imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus ut eum, quem dominus noster elegerit. Et merito dixerim, noster est magis Caesar, ut a nostro Deo constitutus. Itaque et in eo plus ego illi operor in salutem, non solum quod eam ab eo postulo, qui potest praestare, aut quod talis postulo, qui merear impetrare, sed etiam quod temperans majestatem Caesaris infra Deum magis illum commendo Deo, cui soli subjicio. Subjicio autem, cui non adaequo. Non enim Deum imperatorem dicam, vel quia mentiri nescio, vel quia illum deridere non audeo, vel quia nec ipse se Deum volet dici. Si homo sit, interest hominis Deo cedere; satis habeat appellari imperator. Grande et hoc nomen est, quod a Deo traditur. Negat illum imperatorem, qui Deum dicit. Nisi homo sit, non est imperator. Hominem se esse etiam triumphans in illo sublimissimo curru admonetur. Suggeritur enim ei a

wishes for his safety'; but comp. Gen. xlii. 15; *ad Scap.* 2, 'sacrificemus pro salute imperatoris . . . pura prece.' The military oath was possible to the Christians; see note, ch. 38.

3. **judicium Dei suspicimus.** See note, ch. 18. Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

15. **qui merear impetrare.** *Merear* is used of course relatively: the Christian as a true worshipper of God approached Him more acceptably than it was possible for the heathen to do. Yet the *merita* of Christians are the *munera* of God; S. Aug. *Ep.* 194. 19. See Bright's *Serm. S. Leo,* note 63.

25. **Suggeritur ei.** See note, ch. 18.

tergo: Respice post te, hominem memento te. Et utique hoc magis gaudet tanta se gloria coruscare, ut illi admonitio condicionis suae sit necessaria. [Minor erat, si tunc Deus diceretur, quia non vere diceretur.] Major est qui revocatur, ne se Deum existimet.

## CAPUT XXXIV.

Augustus imperii formator, ne dominum quidem dici se volebat; et hoc enim Dei est cognomen. Dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed more communi, sed quando non cogor, ut dominum Dei vice dicam. Ceterum liber sum illi; dominus enim meus unus est, Deus omnipotens et aeternus, idem qui et ipsius. Qui pater patriae est, quomodo dominus est? Sed est gratius nomen pietatis, quam potestatis; etiam familiae magis patres, quam domini vocantur. Tanto abest, ut imperator Deus debeat dici, quod non potest credi, non modo turpissima, sed et perniciosa adulatione; tanquam si habens imperatorem, alterum appelles, nonne maximam et inexorabilem offensam contrahes ejus, quem habuisti, etiam ipsi timendam, quem appellasti? Esto religiosus in Deum, qui vis illum propitium imperatori. Desine alium Deum

1. **hominem memento te**: comp. Juven. x. 42; Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 1; Jerom. *Ep. ad Paulam de ob. Blesillae.*

3. **[Minor . . . diceretur].** These words were supposed by Haverc. to have been inserted by some copyist.

7. **Augustus . . . volebat.** Sueton. *Oct.* 43, 'Domini appellationem ut maledictum et opprobrium semper abhorruit.' Tiberius also disclaimed the title, Sueton. *Tib.* 27; but Domitian assumed the appellation of *Dominus et Deus noster, Domit.* 13; see the above, ch. 28.

10. **Dei vice**, 'like,' or 'in the sense of, God'; opposed to *more communi*: comp. Lactant. iv. 28, 'ut deorum vice mortuos honorarent,' and 'vice rebellantium,' above, ch. 27. See Martial x. 72.

**liber sum illi**: *illi* is emphatic: 'as regards *him* I am a free man'; comp. the reply of S. Maximus (quoted Pressensé ii. 88) to the question 'Cujus condicionis es'? 'Ingenuus natus, servus vero Christi.' One may note the germ of the sense of civil liberty as a right in these passages.

14. **Tanto abest, ut imperator.** 'So far is it from being the emperor's due to be called God (which is incredible) . . .' *Tanto* sums up the inferences from the preceding sentences.

colere vel credere, atque ita et hunc Deum dicere, cui Deo opus est. Si non de mendacio erubescit adulatio ejusmodi, hominem Deum appellans, timeat saltem de infausto. Maledictum est ante apotheosin Deum Caesarem nuncupare.

## CAPUT XXXV.

PROPTEREA igitur publici hostes Christiani, quia imperatoribus neque vanos neque mentientes neque temerarios honores dicant, quia verae religionis homines etiam sollemnia eorum, conscientia potius quam lascivia celebrant. Grande videlicet officium, focos et toros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernae habitu abolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim cursitare ad injurias, ad impudentias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per dedecus publicum? Haeccine sollemnes dies principum decent, quae alios dies non decent? Qui observant disciplinam de Caesaris respectu, hi eam propter Caesarem deserent, et malorum morum licentia pietas erit, occasio luxuriae

3. **Maledictum est ante apotheosin.** Comp. Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 74, where the assumption of divine honours by Nero in his lifetime was regarded by some as an omen of his death. Sueton. *Jul. Caes.* 76; *Calig.* 22; *Vesp.* 23; Plin. *Panegyr.* 11; Spartian. *Geta* 2. Yet after Domitian's action the divinity of the living emperors was regularly recognized.

6. **publici hostes**: because disloyalty to the emperor was a crime against the state; see note, ch. 28.

11. **abolefacere** = *abolere*, 'to efface the city under the disguise of a tavern': comp. ch. 42; Martial vii. 60, 'Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit'; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 37, 'publicis locis struere convivia, totaque urbe quasi domo uti.' *Obolefacere* is the ingenious but unnecessary conjecture of several editors. *Habitum demutare* is the reading of Cod. Fuld. *Abolefacere* recurs *de cult. fem.* i. 3, of the destruction at the Deluge, 'perinde potuit abolefactam esse violentia cataclysmi in spiritu rursus reformare.'

**vino lutum cogere**, 'to make mud with wine': *cogere* = 'to thicken,' occurs Verg. *Georg.* iv. 36, and frequently in the medical phraseology of Pliny and Celsus.

12. **catervatim cursitare.** Comp. ch. 39, 'non in catervas caesionum, neque in classes discursationum,' *etc.*; Juvenal iii. 278 ff.; Suet. *Nero* 26; *Otho* 2.

14. **dies principum decent.** Hor. *Epist.* i. 5. 9.

religio deputabitur? O nos merito damnandos! Cur enim vota et gaudia Caesarum casti et sobrii probi expungimus? cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus nec lucernis diem infringimus? Honesta res est sollemnitate publica exigente induere domui tuae habitum alicujus novi lupanaris. Velim tamen in hac quoque religione secundae majestatis, de qua in secundum sacrilegium convenimur Christiani, non celebrando vobiscum sollemnia Caesarum, quo more celebrari nec modestia nec verecundia nec pudicitia permittunt, sed occasio voluptatis magis quam digna ratio persuasit, fidem et veritatem vestram demonstrare; ne forte et isthic deteriores Christianis deprehendantur, qui nos nolunt Romanos haberi, sed hostes principum Romanorum. Ipsos Quirites, ipsam vernaculam septem collium plebem convenio, an alicui Caesari suo parcat illa lingua Romana? Testis est Tiberis, et scholae bestiarum.

2. **expungimus**, 'perform'; see note, ch. 2.

3. **laureis postes obumbramus**: comp. Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 71, 'ornare lauru domum'; *de idol.* 15 *pass.*; *ad uxor.* ii. 6.

6. **religione secundae majestatis.** Comp. ch. 28, and the passage from *ad Nat.* i. 17 quoted in note there. In the following chapters *religio* is frequently used in this sense of loyalty to the emperor.

11. **fidem et veritatem vestram demonstrare.** This is of course ironical: the satire is continued below, 'Plane ceteri ordines . . .'

14. **vernaculam plebem**: comp. 'vernacula multitudo,' Tacit. *Ann.* i. 31.

15. **convenio.** This word has just occurred in its forensic sense, as in ch. 9, 28, 'I judicially charge you to say whether . . .'

**alicui Caesari suo parcat.** Comp. *de spect.* 16, 'Sed circo quid amarius, ubi ne principibus quidem aut civibus suis parcunt'? Sueton. *Nero* 39; *Vespas.* 19, 23. See next note.

16. **Testis est Tiberis.** The allusion is to the dregs of the populace, the inhabitants of the lower portions of the city near the river, and their coarse witticisms upon the emperors; comp. *ad Nat.* i. 17, 'vanitatis sacrilegia conveniam, et ipsius vernaculae gentis irreverentiam recognoscam, et festivos libellos quos statuae sciunt, et illa obliqua nonnunquam dicta a concilio atque maledicta quae circi sonant. Si non armis saltem lingua semper rebelles estis.' Lampoons upon the emperors were infractions of the law of *majestas* as enforced by Augustus, and Tiberius made even abusive language treasonable. Merivale *Hist. Rom.* v. 251 ff. The *dicacitas plebis* was offensive to Diocletian (Lactant. *de mort. pers.* 17), though relished by Constantius

Jam si pectoribus ad translucendum quandam specularem materiam natura obduxisset, cujus non praecordia insculpta apparerent novi ac novi Caesaris scaenam congiario dividundo praesidentis? etiam illa hora qua acclamant:

De nostris annis tibi Jupiter augeat annos.

Haec Christianus tam enuntiare non novit, quam de novo Caesare optare.

Sed vulgus, inquis. Ut vulgus, tamen Romani, nec ulli magis depostulatores Christianorum, quam vulgus. Plane ceteri ordines pro auctoritate religiosi ex fide; nihil hosticum de ipso senatu, de equite, de castris, de palatiis ipsis spirat. Unde Cassii, et Nigri et Albini? unde qui inter duas laurus obsident Caesarem? unde qui faucibus ejus exprimendis

(Amm. Marc. xvi. 10); and special licence was indulged in at the funerals of deceased emperors; Suet. *Vesp.* 19; Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 88; iii. 32; Amm. Marc. xxv. 10.

**scholae bestiarum**: the amphitheatre or circus, thus sarcastically denominated, as the place to which the Roman populace resorted for their instruction; see note, ch. 42.

3. **congiario dividundo**: see note, ch. 30; comp. Sueton. *Calig.* 17, 'congiarium populo bis dedit,' and the Augustan hist. *frequent.*

5. **De nostris annis**: comp. the metrical acclamations accorded to Caligula, Sueton. *Calig.* 6, 'Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus.' *Octav.* 7; Ovid *Fast.* i. 613, 'Augeat imperium nostri ducis, augeat annos.' Dion Cass. liii. 16.

12. **Cassii.** Avidius Cassius, the successful general of Lucius Verus in the Parthian war, 162–165. He was made governor of the eastern provinces, but in 175 headed a short-lived rebellion against Marcus Aurelius, and was put to death by his own officers, after having usurped the imperial title for three months and six days. Dion Cass. lxxi. 23–27; Capitol. *M. Ant. Phil.* 24, 25; Vulcac. Gallic. *Avid. Cass. vita.*

**Nigri et Albini**: see the Introd. page xvi. f.; and their lives in the Augustan hist. by Spartianus and Capitolinus.

**inter duas laurus.** Two laurels, the symbols of guardianship and safety, flanked the door of the imperial palace (cp. Plin. *N. H.* xv. 30, 39; Ovid *Met.* i. 562): this expression is therefore equivalent to *in palatio.* The reference is to the frustrated attack upon Commodus in his suburban palace during the Cleander riot; Herodian i. 12; Dion Cass. lxxii. 14.

13. **qui faucibus . . . palaestricam exercent**: the strangulation of Commodus by the wrestler Narcissus, Dec. 31, 192. Herodian i. 17; Dion Cass. lxii. 22; Lamprid. *Commod.* 17; Aurel. Victor. *Epit.* 17, 'ab immisso validissimo palaestrita compressis faucibus, exspiravit.'

palaestricam exercent? unde qui armati palatium irrumpunt, omnibus Sigeriis atque Partheniis audaciores? De Romanis, nisi fallor, id est de non-Christianis. Atque adeo omnes illi sub ipsa usque impietatis eruptione et sacra faciebant pro salute imperatoris, et genium ejus dejerabant, alii foris, alii intus, et utique publicorum hostium nomen Christianis dabant. Sed et qui nunc scelestarum partium socii aut plausores quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam parricidarum racematio superstes, quam recentissimis et ramossimis laureis postes praestruebant? quam elatissimis et clarissimis lucernis vestibula enubilabant? quam cultissimis et superbissimis toris forum sibi dividebant? non ut gaudia publica celebrarent, sed ut vota propria jam edicerent et in aliena sollemnitate exemplum atque imaginem spei suae inaugurarent, nomen principis in corde mutantes.

Eadem officia dependunt et qui astrologos et aruspices et

1. **qui armati palatium irrumpunt**: the assassination of Pertinax by the praetorians, March 28, 183. Capitol. *Pertin.* 11; Herodian ii. 5; Dion Cass. lxxiii. 9, 10.

2. **Sigeriis et Partheniis**: instigators of the murder of Domitian, Sept. 18, 96. Sueton. *Dom.* 17; Dion Cass. lxvii. 18; Philostr. *vit. Apollon.* viii. 25.

7. **Sed et qui nunc . . . quotidie revelantur.** Adherents of Albinus were perhaps to be found in Africa as well as in Britain, Gaul, and Italy. Dion Cass. lxxv. 8; Herodian iii. 8.

8. **post vindemiam parricidarum.** This may refer to the severe punishments inflicted on the followers of Albinus at Rome, after Severus' return from his victory at Lyon, Feb. 19, 197, and before his expedition against the Parthians later in the same year, Spartian. *Sever.* 12. Or, if the Apology be dated three years later, the allusion may be to the inquiry into the remnants of Niger's faction held by Severus in 200 when in Syria and Egypt, after the Parthian war, Spartian. *Sever.* 14 ff. For *parricidae* = 'traitors,' cp. Sall. *Catil.* 31; Tacit. *Hist.* i. 85; *Ann.* iv. 34.

**racematio**: 'the gleaning' (from *racemus*, a stalk); the word occurs only in this pass. Varro (*de re rust.* iii. 9. 1) uses the verb *racemari* in the sense of 'treating supplementarily.'

11. **enubilabant**, 'light up,' a word found in patristic writers. *Al.* *nubilabant*, *i. e.* 'hide' with the excessive number of candles.

14. **in corde mutantes**, *i. e.* by the exercise of a mental reservation, while pronouncing the name of the emperor, they inwardly substituted that of another person.

augures et magos de Caesarum capite consultant, quas artes ut ab angelis desertoribus proditas et a Deo interdictas ne suis quidem caussis adhibent Christiani. Cui autem opus est perscrutari super Caesaris salute, nisi a quo aliquid adversus illam cogitatur vel optatur, aut post illam speratur et sustinetur? Non enim ea mente de caris consulitur, qua de dominis. Aliter curiosa est sollicitudo sanguinis, aliter servitutis.

## CAPUT XXXVI.

SI haec ita sunt, ut hostes deprehendantur, qui Romani vocabantur, cur nos, qui hostes existimamur, Romani negamur? non possumus et Romani esse, et hostes non esse, cum hostes reperiantur qui Romani habebantur? Adeo pietas et religio et fides imperatoribus dedita non in hujusmodi officiis consistit, quibus et hostilitas magis ad velamentum sui potest

1. **de Caesarum capite consultant**: comp. Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 52, 'Furius Scribonianus in exsilium agitur, quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scrutaretur'; Ammian. Marc. xxix. 2, 'cum objectaretur ei quamobrem constellationem principis collegisset'; Paul. Sent. v. 21. 3, 'qui de salute principis . . . mathematicos consulit, cum eo qui responderit, capite punitur.' See Merivale *Hist. Rom.* v. 253, of the time of Tiberius, 'To inquire thus into the years of the emperor . . . was now reputed treasonable.' Severus himself had been suspected of it, Spartian. *Sever.* 4. The casting of horoscopes is referred to by Juvenal vi. 553 ff.; xiv. 248; Ovid *Metam.* i. 148; Pers. *Sat.* v. 45 ff.; and the Augustan hist. *frequent.* See note, ch. 1.

2. **ab angelis desertoribus**: comp. *de idol.* 9, 'propono angelos esse illos desertores Dei, amatores feminarum, proditores etiam hujus curiositatis, propterea quoque damnatos a Deo,' *etc.*, and a similar passage *de cult. fem.* i. 2, where *desertores* is explained by 'qui ad filias hominum de caelo ruerunt,' in accordance with the view taken of Gen. vi. 2; see above, ch. 22; and Cypr. *de idol. van.* 6, 'Spiritus . . . posteaquam terrenis vitiis immersi sunt et a vigore caelesti terreno contagio recesserunt,' *etc.* Cp. S. Jude 6.

6. **sustinetur**, 'is looked for,' 'expected.' *Sustinere* has the sense of *exspectare*, *adv. Herm.* 29, 'sed invisibilis usque tunc videri sustinebat'; *adv. Jud.* 6, 'si necdum venit, sustinendus est.'

7. **Aliter curiosa est.** 'The solicitude inspired by kinship is an anxiety of quite a different nature to that which servitude calls forth.' **sanguinis** corresponds to *de caris* (one's loved ones), and **servitutis** to *de dominis* in the previous clause.

15. **hostilitas magis ad velamentum**, *etc.*: 'which a hostile dispo-

fungi, sed in iis moribus, quibus civilitas in imperatorem tam vere quam circa omnes necesse habet exhiberi. Neque enim haec opera bonae mentis solis imperatoribus debentur a nobis. Nullum bonum sub exceptione personarum administramus, quia nobis praestamus, qui non ab homine aut laudis, aut praemii expensum captamus: sed a Deo exactore et remuneratore indifferentis benignitatis. Iidem sumus imperatoribus, qui et vicinis nostris. Male enim velle, male facere, male dicere, male cogitare de quoquam ex aequo vetamur. Quodcunque non licet in imperatorem, id nec in quemquam; quod in neminem, eo forsitan magis nec in ipsum, qui per Deum tantus est.

## CAPUT XXXVII.

Si inimicos, ut supra diximus, jubemur diligere, quem habemus odisse? Item si laesi vicem referre prohibemur, nec de facto pares simus, quem possumus laedere? Nam de isto ipsi recognoscite. Quotiens enim in Christianos desae-

sition is likewise able to discharge even more rigorously as a cloak for its own purposes.'

1. **civilitas**: used here in its late signification, which very nearly approaches to our modern derivative; 'a kindly disposition,' springing from the possession of a *bona mens*. The word occurs in this sense Sueton. *Oct.* 51; Eutrop. vii. 21. Tertullian adopts it here as an antithesis to *hostilitas*.

2. **habet exhiberi**: *habere* has here its late sense of *debere*: comp. *de cult. fem.* i. 1, 'etiam Filius Dei mori habuit'; *de anim.* 35, 'ceterum totiens animam revocari habere'; so Plin. *Epp.* i. 8, 'quum enitendum haberemus'; and Lactant. *frequenter*. Elsewhere Tertullian uses *habere* as = *posse*; ch. 22, 'habent sapere'; ch. 37, 'quem habemus odisse?'

4. **sub exceptione personarum**, 'subject to any exception of persons.' All men, Tertullian asserts, whatever their station in life, are equally the objects of the Christian's good-will.

11. **quod in neminem, eo forsitan**: 'that which we may not do to any man, still less of course may we do to him who by God's will is so great a man.'

17. **Quotiens enim in Christianos**: comp. ch. 4, and the Introduction, page xvi. For local persecutions due to popular fanaticism, see Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32; v. 1; vi. 32.

vitis, partim animis propriis, partim legibus obsequentes? Quotiens etiam praeteritis vobis suo jure nos inimicum vulgus invadit lapidibus et incendiis? Ipsis Bacchanalium furiis nec mortuis parcunt Christianis, quin illos de requie sepulturae, de asylo quodam mortis, jam alios, jam nec totos avellant, dissecent, distrahant. Quid tamen unquam denotastis de tam conspiratis, de tam animatis ad mortem usque pro injuria repensatum, quando vel una nox pauculis faculis largiter ultionis posset operari, si malum malo dispungi penes nos liceret? Sed absit, ut aut igni humano vindicetur divina sectae, aut doleat pati, in quo probatur. Si enim hostes exsertos, non tantum vindices occultos agere vellemus, deesset nobis vis numerorum et copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri et Marcomanni ipsique Parthi, vel quantaecunque unius tamen loci et suorum finium gentes, quam totius orbis. Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia, conciliabula, castra ipsa, tribus, decurias, palatium, senatum, forum; sola vobis reliquimus templa. Possumus dinumerare exercitus vestros: unius provinciae

2. **praeteritis vobis**: *i. e.* without your permission or instigation.

4. **de requie sepulturae . . . distrahant**: see Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1 *ad fin.*

9. **malum malo dispungi**: see note, ch. 18.

12. **hostes exsertos . . . agere**: see note, ch. 10.

14. **Mauri.** Mauritania had been constituted a Roman province, and divided into two districts by Claudius, A. D. 42.

**Parthi.** On the Parthian power and its rivalry with Rome see Gibbon i. 340 ff.; Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 10. See the Introduction, page xvii.

16. **Hesterni sumus et**: see note, ch. 1; and for the force of *et*, note, ch. 2.

**urbes, insulas, castella . . . forum.** There is some exaggeration in the accumulation of these rhetorical details. The Christians could not be said 'to fill' the 'camp,' 'the palace,' or 'the senate.' It is very questionable whether at the end of the fourth century the Christian senators were not in the minority: see Gibbon iii. 409; Prudent. *contr. Symm.* i. 545 ff.; S. Ambros. *Epp.* 17, 18.

17. **castella**, 'villages'; see note, ch. 1.

18. **sola vobis reliquimus templa**: see ch. 15.

19. **Possumus . . . erunt.** This sentence is found in Cod. Fuld. only: *Christiani* must be supplied with *erunt*.

plures erunt. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuissemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur, si non apud istam disciplinam magis occidi liceret, quam occidere? Potuimus et inermes, nec rebelles, sed tantummodo discordes, solius divortii invidia adversus vos dimicasse. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti sinum abrupissemus a vobis, suffudisset [pudore] utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium, imo etiam et ipsa destitutione punisset. Procul dubio expavissetis ad solitudinem vestram, ad silentium rerum et stuporem quendam quasi mortui orbis; quaesissetis quibus imperaretis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent. Nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine Christianorum, paene omnium civitatum paene omnes cives Christianos habendo. Sed hostes maluistis vocare generis humani. Quis autem vos ab illis occultis et usquequaque vastantibus mentes et valetudines vestras hostibus raperet? a daemoniorum incursibus dico, quae de vobis sine praemio, sine mercede depellimus. Suffecisset hoc solum nostrae ultioni, quod vacua exinde possessio immundis spiritibus pateretis. Porro nec tanti praesidii compensationem cogitantes, non modo non molestum vobis genus, verum etiam necessarium, hostes judicare maluistis: qui sumus plane, non generis humani tamen, sed potius erroris.

## CAPUT XXXVIII.

Proinde, nec paulo lenius, inter licitas factiones sectam istam deputari oportebat, a qua nihil tale committitur,

17. **a daemoniorum incursibus**: comp. ch. 23, 32, 43.

25. **inter licitas factiones.** Christianity was not only a *religio illicita*, it also stood condemned as a *factio* under the Edict of Trajan, which forbade the formation of *collegia fabrum* or *hetaeriae*; Plin. *Epp.* x. 39, 40, 96. All secretly formed, and indeed any associations were viewed with great suspicion by the Romans; and so Tertullian admits below: comp. Plin. *Epp.* x. 34, 93, 117; Liv. xxxix. 13, 14; Sueton. *Oct.* 32. Certain gilds, however, were legalized (*collegia legitima*), and their constitution and right of property recognised and regulated

quale de illicitis factionibus timeri solet. Nisi fallor enim, prohibendarum factionum caussa de providentia constat modestiae publicae, ne civitas in partes scinderetur, quae res facile comitia, concilia, curias, contiones, spectacula etiam aemulis studiorum compulsationibus inquietaret, cum jam et in quaestu habere coepissent venalem et mercenariam homines violentiae suae operam. At enim nobis ab omni gloriae et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus, nec ulla magis res aliena, quam publica. Unam

by law. Amongst such Tertullian asks that the Christian body, as a harmless and beneficent association, should be enrolled; but the first approach towards any action of the kind did not take place until A. D. 261, under Gallienus; Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 13. In the term *factio* Tert. probably adopts the language of his heathen opponents; comp. Min. Fel. 8, 'homines deploratae illicitae ac desperatae factionis'; and the sentence pronounced by the proconsul Galerius on S. Cyprian, *Acta procons.* 4, 'plurimos nefariae tibi conspirationis homines aggregasti.' See Gore, *Christian Ministry*, p. 31.

4. **spectacula . . . compulsationibus.** The rival factions of the circus were not seldom the cause of dangerous riots in Rome, and were always liable to issue in bloody encounters, such as that of the blues and greens at Constantinople, A. D. 532; see Gibbon v. 48 ff.; comp. *de spect.* 9.

7. **At enim nobis ab omni gloriae.** The question of the lawfulness of a Christian accepting the duties of civil magistracy is discussed by Tert. *de idol.* 17, 'Hinc proxime disputatio suborta est, an servus Dei alicujus dignitatis aut potestatis administrationem capiat,' *etc.* The duties attaching to such dignities were in many cases idolatrous, and the badges of office savoured of pomp and vanity; see *de spect.* 12, 'quaesturas dico et magistratus . . . cum tamen nominis dignitas idololatriae crimine teneatur,' *etc.* Comp. below, ch. 46, 'the Christian aspires not even to the aedileship,' a despised office open to the ranks. Military service was not forbidden, see ch. 5, 37, 42, 'vobiscum et militamus.' Yet contrast *de coron.* 11; *de pall.* 5. See Pressensé ii. 70 ff. on the difficulties encountered by the Christian in public and private life.

8. **nulla est necessitas coetus.** 'There is no necessity for us, who are dead to all desire for glory or greatness, to form coalitions; nor is anything more foreign to our ideas than public life.' Combinations and conspiracies are connected with new and strange religions in the address of Maecenas to Augustus, Dion Cass. lii. 36.

9. **Unam omnium . . . mundum.** Christianity claimed to be universal, and the Christian, unlike his heathen opponent, was fettered by no ties of local or racial religion. The Christians were in one sense

omnium rempublicam agnoscimus, mundum. Aeque spectaculis vestris in tantum renuntiamus, in quantum originibus eorum, quas scimus de superstitione conceptas, cum et ipsis rebus, de quibus transiguntur, praetersumus. Nihil est nobis dictu, visu, auditu, cum insania circi, cum impudicitia theatri, cum atrocitate arenae, cum vanitate xysti. Licuit Epicureis aliquam decernere voluptatis veritatem. Quo vos offendimus, si alias praesumimus voluptates? Si oblectari novisse nolumus, nostra injuria est, si forte, non vestra. Sed reprobamus quae placent vobis, nec vos nostra delectant.

## CAPUT XXXIX.

Edam jam nunc ego ipsa negotia Christianae factionis, ut qui mala refutaverim, bona ostendam. Corpus sumus de

citizens of the world, but their true *patria* was *in caelis*; see note, ch. 41.

1. **Aeque spectaculis.** A special tract 'De Spectaculis,' written probably soon after the Apology, expands the point of this argument: see esp. ch. 5.

4. **praetersumus.** This verb belongs to eccles. Latin only, 'we have nothing to do with . . .'

5. **insania circi,** 'the phrenzy of the circus'; comp. *de spect.* 16, 'auferimur a circo ubi proprie furor praesidet'; Lactant. vi. 20; Amm. Marc. xxviii. 4; Juven. *Sat.* xi. 197; S. Cyr. Jer. *Catech.* i. 4: and for Carthage especially S. August. *Conf.* vi. 7; comp. Gibbon iv. 86. Merivale v. 75.

6. **vanitate xysti,** 'the vain-glory of the xystus,' the exercise school of the athletes, or covered gymnasium; in this portico also the philosophers paraded their wisdom; see *de spect.* 18; *de pudic.* 7; Min. Felix 12.

9. **Sed reprobamus**: comp. *de spect.* 28.

12. **Edam jam nunc ego.** The argument in the last few chapters has proceeded thus: 'We are not disloyal to the emperor; we are more truly loyal than you yourselves. We are peaceable and patient citizens, never taking revenge as we might easily do if our religion permitted it. Yet you brand us with the name of public enemies, though the traitors all hail from your camp. Our ambition is to lead a quiet life and abstain from rivalry of every kind. We ought therefore to be treated as a legalized sect. To prove this I will now (ch. 39) show you that our aims are philanthropic and our feasts conducive to morality.'

conscientia religionis et disciplinae divinitate et spei foedere. Coimus in coetum et congregationem, ut ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Haec vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu saeculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Cogimur ad litterarum divinarum commemorationem, si quid praesentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam praeceptorum nihilominus in compulsationibus densamus; ibidem etiam exhortationnes, castigationes et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque futuri judicii praejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur. Praesident probati quique

**ipsa negotia Christianae factionis**, 'the real facts concerning the Christian society,' 'the true business of our gild.'

2. **quasi manu facta.** A military expression with which *ambiamus* and *Haec vis* correspond; 'like a marshalled regiment we besiege God with our prayers; and this violence is pleasing to Him.' Comp. S. Matt. xi. 12.

4. **Oramus . . . pro mora finis**: see note, ch. 32.

8. **Certe fidem,** *etc.* 'In any case . . .,' *i. e.* whether the *praesentium temporum qualitas* demands consideration or not.

10. **in compulsationibus.** So Cod. Fuld. *al.* inculcationibus.

13. **futuri judicii praejudicium est.** S. Matt. xviii. 18; 1 Cor. v. 3–5; 1 Tim. i. 20. Comp. S. Ambros. *de paenit.* i. 2.

**si quis ita deliquerit,** *etc.* This exclusion from all Christian fellowship is the only form of Penance mentioned by Tertullian. It is fully described *de paen.* 9, under its Greek name *ἐξομολόγησις*. It corresponds with *τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποβάλλεσθαι* and *παντάπασιν ἐκκόπτεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας* of the Apost. Canons (28, 51). A less severe censure was also employed, which consisted in severance from participation in the Holy Eucharist (*ἀφορισμός*). For early patristic references to Penance, see Clem. Rom. Cor. i. 57; Past. Herm. *Vis.* iii. 5; *Simil.* 7; comp. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 44; and Tert., below, ch. 44, 46; *de pudic.* 3, 18.

15. **Praesident probati quique seniores.** This appears to be a non-technical compendious expression including both Bishops and Priests; comp. *de coron.* 3, where Tertullian speaks of the Holy Eucharist being received from the hands of the 'praesides' alone; and *ad uxor.* 7, where he alludes to the Apostolic injunction 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 6, forbidding digamists *praesidere.* Bingh. iv. 3. 4. Elsewhere

seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti; neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat. Etiam si quod arcae genus est, non de honoraria summa, quasi redemptae religionis congregatur; modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Haec quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex caussa Dei sectae alumni confessionis suae fiunt.

Sed ejusmodi vel maxime dilectionis operatio notam nobis inurit penes quosdam. Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligant: ipsi enim invicem oderunt; et ut pro alterutro mori sint parati: ipsi enim ad occidendum alterutrum paratiores erunt. Sed et quod fratrum appellatione censemur, non alias, opinor, infamant, quam quod apud ipsos omne sanguinis nomen de affectatione simulatum est. Fratres autem etiam vestri sumus, jure naturae matris unius, etsi vos parum homines, quia mali fratres. At quanto dignius fratres et dicuntur et habentur, qui unum patrem Deum agnoverunt,

Tertullian uses the technical phraseology for the Three Orders, 'episcopus,' 'presbyter,' 'diaconus'; *de fug. in pers.* 11; *de praesc. haer.* 3. 41; *de bapt.* 17. See Kaye, pp. 208 ff.

3. **non de honoraria summa**, 'no sum is collected from a sense of obligation'; *honoraria* bearing its technical sense of 'that which is demanded by custom.' Another reading gives *dehonoraria*, a word explained as =*inhonesta*, 'discreditable' to religion.

10. **domesticis senibus**: *i. e.* whom age and infirmity keep at home.

12. **alumni confessionis suae**, 'pensioners of their confession'; *i. e.* whose brave witness entitles them to the support of their fellow-creedsmen; comp. *ad mart.* 1 *init.* The charitable actions of the Christians towards their suffering brethren are mentioned Euseb. iv. 23; they were prohibited by Licinius, Euseb. x. 8.

17. **Sed et quod fratrum appellatione.** Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 9; Min. Felix 9, where the mutual love of the Christians is made the ground of a criminal insinuation. See Gore, *Chr. Min.* p. 30.

qui unum Spiritum biberunt sanctitatis, qui de uno utero ignorantiae ejusdem ad unam lucem expaverunt veritatis. Sed eo fortasse minus legitimi existimamur, quia nulla de nostra fraternitate tragoedia exclamat, vel quia ex substantia familiari fratres sumus, quae penes vos fere dirimit fraternitatem. Itaque qui animo animaque miscemur, nihil de rei communicatione dubitamus. Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos, praeter uxores: in isto loco consortium solvimus, in quo solo ceteri homines consortium exercent, qui non amicorum solummodo matrimonia usurpant, sed et sua amicis patientissime subministrant, ex illa, credo, majorum et sapientissimorum disciplina, Graeci Socratis et Romani Catonis, qui uxores suas amicis communicaverunt, quas in matrimonium duxerant liberorum caussa et alibi creandorum, nescio quidem an invitas; quid enim de castitate curarent, quam mariti tam facile donaverant? O sapientiae Atticae, o Romanae gravitatis exemplum! Leno est philosophus et censor.

1. **unum Spiritum biberunt.** 1 Cor. xii. 13, where the Apostle is speaking of the union resulting from incorporation in the One Body by Holy Baptism, to which the *ad unam lucem* of Tertullian seems to refer. *Illuminatio* was a frequent metaphor for Holy Baptism; comp. S. Cypr. *Ep.* 1.

3. **Sed eo fortasse minus.** The fact that Christian love appeared as phaenomenal to the heathen induces an outburst of keen sarcasm. The serious argument is taken up again 'Quid ergo mirum . . .'

**nulla . . . tragoedia exclamat**: such as involved the two sons of Oedipus and Jocaste; or the brothers Atreus and Thyestes.

6. **miscemur**, 'united'; a sense which *miscere* often bears: see note, ch. 21.

7. **Omnia indiscreta sunt apud nos.** This is a rhetorical method of denoting the open and unreserved charity which animated the early Christians. There is no evidence that 'communism' was in force; but the expression is probably made all the stronger in order to mark more severely the contrast between the one exception to the rule amongst the Christians and the heathen laxity in that particular.

12. **Romani Catonis.** Not Cato the Censor, as Tertullian says below, but his great-grandson, Cato minor, the Stoic philosopher. See Tertullian's charge amply substantiated in the request of Q. Hortensius, as related by Plutarch, *Cato min.*

Quid ergo mirum, si tanta caritas convivatur? Nam et cenulas nostras, praeterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas quoque suggillatis. De nobis scilicet Diogenis dictum est: Megarenses obsonant quasi crastina die morituri, aedificant vero quasi nunquam morituri. Sed stipulam quis in alieno oculo facilius perspicit, quam in suo trabem. Tot tribubus et curiis et decuriis ructantibus acescit aër. Saliis cenaturis creditor erit necessarius. Herculanarum decimarum et polluctorum sumptus tabularii supputabant. Apaturiis, Dionysiis, mysteriis Atticis coquorum dilectus indicentur. Ad fumum cenae Serapiacae sparteoli excitabuntur. De solo triclinio Christianorum retractatur. Cena nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit; id vocatur, quod dilectio penes Graecos est. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum, siquidem inopes quosque

1. **Quid ergo mirum, si tanta caritas.** 'What wonder, then, if love so great as ours causes us to feast together'? Tertullian devotes the rest of the treatise to the consideration of four minor points of objection raised against the Christians. (1) Their mutual love and its outward symbol, the *agape*, were denounced, the former as impure, the latter as extravagant and infamous.

4. **Megarenses.** Empedocles and Stratonicus are also credited with this epigram, the former applying it to the Agrigentines, the latter to the Rhodians; Diog. Laert. viii. 63.

5. **Sed stipulam quis.** S. Matt. vii. 3; S. Luke vi. 41.

7. **Saliis.** See note, ch. 26. 'Dapes Saliares' was a proverbial expression for a 'sumptuous banquet,' Hor. *Carm.* i. 37. 2.

8. **Herculanarum.** On the tithes and sacred banquets of Hercules, comp. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 12. *Tabularii* are the public notaries or 'accountants.'

9. **Apaturiis.** Originally an Athenian festival which included a very extensive banquet in honour of Athena; but at Rome transferred to Minerva.

**Dionysiis, mysteriis Atticis,** the Bacchanalian and Eleusinian orgies.

10. **dilectus indicentur**: 'a levy of cooks must be proclaimed.'

11. **sparteoli,** 'firemen'; so called from their employment of ropes made of broom (*spartum*).

12. **retractatur,** 'is made a subject of comment.' This impers. pass. use of *retractare* is found in Tacit. *Germ.* 22. Here it almost bears the sense of *detractare,* as in Aul. Gell. xiv. 3. 4.

**Cena nostra.** This is the *agape* as described below, *dilectio.*

refrigerio isto juvamus, non qua penes vos parasiti affectant ad gloriam famulandae libertatis sub auctoramento ventris inter contumelias saginandi, sed qua penes Deum major est contemplatio mediocrium.

Si honesta caussa est convivii, reliquum ordinem disciplinae aestimate, qui sit, de religionis officio: nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiae admittit; non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum praegustetur; editur quantum esurientes capiunt; bibitur quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse; ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant Dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere; hinc probatur quomodo biberit. Aeque oratio convivium dirimit. Inde disceditur non in catervas caesionum neque in classes discursationum, nec in eruptiones lasci-

1. **refrigerio**, 'consolation,' 'refreshment'; the word recurs ch. 49; *adv. Marc.* iii. 24, and Vulg. Ps. lxvi. 12.

2. **sub auctoramento ventris**, 'for their belly's wage.'

4. **contemplatio**, 'consideration,' a sense frequently attaching to this word in juridical Latin.

6. **nihil vilitatis**, 'nothing disgraceful'; this meaning of *vilitas* is only found in late authors; comp. Apul. *Flor.* i. 7; Ammian. Marc. xiv. 6; Quint. v. 7. 23.

7. **quam oratio ad Deum praegustetur.** The Jewish practice of saying 'grace before meals,' sanctioned and enforced by Christ's example (S. Matt. xiv. 19, *et freq.*), was regularly observed by the early Christians. Comp. S. Paul to S. Timothy 1 *Ep.* iv. 5; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* ii. 4 *ὡς δὲ ἁρμόδιον πρὶν ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, τῶν συμπάντων εὐλογεῖν τὸν ποιητήν, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ ποτὸν καθήκει ψάλλειν αὐτῷ τῶν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνοντας κτισμάτων.* On the heathen practice see Wordsworth, *Ch. Hist.* iii. 11; Merivale v. 82.

10. **per noctem adorandum Deum.** Tertullian mentions the *nocturnae convocationes*, *ad uxor.* ii. 4. On the custom of praying during the night see the references and quotations in HOURS OF PRAYER, *Dict. Chr. Ant.*

11. **ita fabulantur, ut**, 'they so converse as those who know ...'; Eph. iv. 29, 30; Coloss. iv. 6.

15. **caesionum**, 'for acts of violence': this is a very rare, if not a solitary instance of *caesio* with this signification. Columella (iv. 33. 1) uses it of 'pruning' trees. See note, ch. 35; and on 'the brutality of bullies in the streets,' Inge, *Social Life in Rome*, p. 46.

viarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiae et pudicitiae, ut qui non tam cenam cenaverint, quam disciplinam. Haec coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par, merito damnanda, [si non dissimilis damnandis,] si quis de ea queritur eo titulo, quo de factionibus querela est. In cujus perniciem aliquando convenimus? Hoc sumus congregati, quod et dispersi; hoc universi, quod et singuli; neminem laedentes, neminem contristantes. Quum probi, quum boni coeunt, quum pii, quum casti congregantur, non est factio dicenda, sed curia.

## CAPUT XL.

At e contrario illis nomen factionis accommodandum est, qui in odium bonorum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant, praetexentes sane ad odii defensionem illam quoque vanitatem, quod existiment omnis publicae cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse in caussa. Si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva,

4. [si non dissimilis damnandis]: inserted by some editors from Cod. Fuld. It has been proposed to insert *factio* after *damnandis*.

si quis de ea queritur: 'if anyone lodges a complaint against it on the same ground as charges are brought against factions.'

5. titulo: see note, ch. 44.

10. curia 'a court,' or 'solemn religious assembly.' Comp. Sallust. *Jug.* 31, 'Haec inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est.'

15. omnis publicae cladis. (2) The many calamities which visited the empire in the first and second centuries were ascribed by popular clamour to the 'impiety' of the Christians which called down the vengeance of the gods: see *ad Scap.* 2; *de pall.* 2; *ad Nat.* i. 9; and comp. Arnob. i. 1–3, 15; August. *de civ. Dei* iii. 31; Cyprian *ad Demet.* 1 ff.; Origen *contr. Cels.* iii. 15; Hor. *Carm.* iii. 6. 1–8.

17. Si Tiberis ascendit. An event of this nature was always considered ominous; Tacit. *Ann.* i. 76; Val. Max. i. 6. 3; Capitol. *Ant. Pius* 9; Hor. *Carm.* i. 2. 13.

si Nilus non ascendit. Comp. Horace *Carm.* iii. 3. 48. The prosperity of Egypt has always been largely dependent on the regular rise of the Nile.

si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim CHRISTIANOS AD LEONEM. Tantos ad unum?

Oro vos, ante Tiberium, id est ante Christi adventum, quantae clades orbem et urbem ceciderunt? Legimus Hieran, Anaphen et Delon et Rhodon et Co insulas multis cum milibus hominum pessum abiisse. Memorat et Plato majorem Asiae et Africae terram Atlantico mari ereptam. Sed et mare Corinthium terrae motus ebibit, et vis undarum Lucaniam Italiae abscissam in Siciliae nomen relegavit. Haec utique non sine injuria incolentium accidere potuerunt. Ubi vero tunc, non dicam deorum vestrorum contemptores Christiani, sed ipsi dii vestri, cum totum orbem cataclysmus abolevit, vel ut Plato putavit, campestre solummodo? Posteriores enim illos clade diluvii contestantur ipsae urbes, in quibus nati mortuique sunt, etiam quas condiderunt; neque enim alias in hodiernum manerent, nisi et ipsae postumae cladis illius. Nondum Judaeum ab Aegypto examen Palaestina susceperat, nec jam illic Christianae sectae origo consederat, quum regiones affines ejus Sodoma et Gomorra igneus imber exussit. Olet adhuc incendio terra, et si qua illic arborum poma conantur, oculis tenus, ceterum contacta cinerescunt. Sed nec Tuscia jam tunc atque Campania de Christianis querebatur, quum Volsinios de caelo, Tarpeios de

1. **si caelum stetit**: *i. e.* 'if there is no rain'; *stetit* being employed here as the exact antithesis of *movit*. Comp. August. *de civ. Dei* ii. 3.

2. **Christianos ad leonem**: comp. ch. 12; *de pudicit.* 22; and note, ch. 9.

4. **urbem**: *i. e.* Rome. Comp. Lucret. vi. 585 ff.

**Legimus Hieran, Anaphen.** Plin. *N. H.* ii. 87; Amm. Marc. xvii. 7. Volcanic islands in the Cretan sea. For the other catastrophes mentioned see Plin. ii. 90, 94; iii. 8; Plat. *Tim.* 6; Tert. *ad Nat.* i. 9.

20. **et si qua illic arborem poma**: 'and if any trees there attempt to bear fruit, it is for the eye only; since it crumbles to ashes on being touched.' The text is uncertain. On the Dead Sea fruit, or Apples of Sodom, see Tacit. *Hist.* v. 7; Plin. v. 16; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 4.

23. **Volsinios.** Plin. *N. H.* ii. 52, 53.

**Tarpeios**: so *ad Nat.* i. 9; MSS. 'Pompeios,' erroneously, for Pompeii was buried A. D. 79. On perfudit see note, ch. 1.

suo monte perfudit ignis. Nemo adhuc Romae Deum verum adorabat, cum Hannibal apud Cannas Romanos anulos, caedes suas, modio metiebatur. Omnes dii vestri ab omnibus colebantur, cum ipsum Capitolium Senones occupaverunt. Et bene, quod si quid adversi accidit urbibus, eaedem clades templorum quae et moenium fuerunt; ut jam hoc revincam, non a deis evenire, quia et ipsis evenit. Semper humana gens male de Deo meruit: primo quidem ut inofficiosa ejus, quem cum intelligeret ex parte, non solum non requisivit timendum, sed et alios sibi citius commenta est quos coleret; dehinc quod non inquirendo innocentiae magistrum, et nocentiae judicem et exactorem, omnibus vitiis et criminibus inolevit. Ceterum si requisisset, [sequeretur, ut] cognosceret et recognosceret requisitum, et recognitum observaret, et observatum magis propitium experiretur quam iratum. Eundem ergo nunc quoque scire debet iratum, quem et retro semper, priusquam Christiani nominarentur. Cujus bonis utebatur ante editis, quam deos sibi fingeret, cur non ab eo etiam mala intelligit evenire, cujus bona esse non sensit? Illius rea est, cujus et ingrata.

Et tamen si pristinas clades comparemus, leviora nunc accidunt, ex quo Christianos a Deo orbis accepit. Ex eo enim et innocentia saeculi iniquitates temperavit, et deprecatores Dei esse coeperunt. Denique cum ab imbribus aestiva hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem, quotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponis et lupanaribus operati, aquilicia Jovi immolatis, nudipedalia

4. **Et bene, quod si.** 'And it is a point too in our favour, if . . .'

5. **eaedem clades templorum**: comp. above, ch. 25.

8. **inofficiosa ejus**, 'undutiful to Him': so in Digest. xxxvii. 14. 1, 'libertus inofficiosus patrono.' Comp. on this passage Rom. i. 21.

12. **exactorem**, 'Avenger'; not as *de spect.* 2, 'One who requires,' *innocentiae exactor.*

23. **deprecatores**, 'intercessors'; see note, ch. 1.

27. **aquilicia**, 'sacrifices for rain.'

**nudipedalia**, 'solemn processions barefooted,' undertaken in times of drought to procure rain. Comp. *de jejun.* 16, 'cum stupet

populo denuntiatis, caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis, aversi ab ipso et Deo et caelo. Nos vero jejuniis aridi et omni continentia expressi, ab omni vitae fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere volutantes, invidia caelum tundimus, Deum tangimus, et cum misericordiam extorserimus, Jupiter honoratur a vobis, Deus negligitur.

## CAPUT XLI.

Vos igitur importuni rebus humanis, vos rei publicorum incommodorum, vos malorum illices semper, apud quos Deus spernitur, statuae adorantur. Utique enim credibilius haberi debet, eum irasci qui negligatur, quam qui coluntur: aut nae illi iniquissimi, si propter Christianos etiam cultores suos laedunt, quos separare deberent a meritis Christianorum. Hoc, inquitis, et in Deum vestrum repercutere est, qui et ipse patiatur propter profanos etiam cultores suos laedi. Admittite prius dispositiones ejus, et non retorquebitis. Qui enim semel aeternum judicium destinavit post saeculi finem, non praecipitat discretionem, quae est condicio judicii, ante saeculi finem. Aequalis est interim super omne hominum genus et indulgens et increpans; communia voluit esse et commoda profanis et incommoda suis, ut pari consortio omnes et lenitatem ejus et severitatem experiremur. Quia haec ita didicimus apud ipsum, diligimus lenitatem, metuimus severitatem, vos contra utramque despicitis: et sequitur, ut omnes saeculi plagae nobis, si forte, in admonitionem, vobis in casti-

caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro avertunt, precem indigitant, hostiam instaurant.'

1. **nubila de laquearibus exspectatis**: comp. ch. 24, 'nubes numeret orans,' *etc.*

18. **non praecipitat discretionem.** Comp. Parable of the Tares, S. Matt. xiii. 28–30, 49; and xxv. 32. On *praecipitare*, 'to hasten prematurely,' see note, ch. 22.

19. **Aequalis est interim.** S. Matt. v. 45.

25. **si forte**: 'if we feel them at all'; see note, ch. 16.

gationem a Deo obveniant. Atquin nos nullo modo laedimur: imprimis quia nihil nostra refert in hoc aevo, nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere; dehinc, quia si quid adversi infligitur, vestris id meritis deputatur. Sed etsi aliqua nos quoque perstringunt ut vobis cohaerentes, laetamur magis recognitione divinarum praedicationum, confirmantium scilicet fiduciam et fidem spei nostrae. Si vero ab eis quos colitis omnia vobis mala eveniunt nostri caussa, quid colere perseveratis tam ingratos, tam injustos, qui magis vos in dolorem Christianorum juvare et asserere debuerant?

## CAPUT XLII.

Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo postulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. Quo pacto homines vobiscum degentes, ejusdem victus, habitus, instructus, ejusdem ad vitam necessitatis? Neque enim Brachmanae aut Indorum gymnosophistae sumus, silvicolae et exsules vitae. Memi-

2. **imprimis . . . dehinc**: 'in the first place, because we have no concern with this world except to depart out of it as quickly as possible; and in the second place, because if any trouble is inflicted, it is attributable to misdeeds of yours.'

**nisi de eo quam celeriter excedere.** Comp. Philipp. i. 23; Coloss. iii. 2. See *ad uxor.* i. 5; *de exhort. cast.* 12. The 'native land' of the Christians was in heaven; comp. ch. 1; S. Cyprian *de mort.* 9, 'Quis non peregre constitutus properaret in patriam regredi? . . . Patriam nostram paradisum computamus.'

4. **Sed etsi aliqua nos.** Comp. ch. 31, 'Cum enim concutitur imperium, concussis etiam ceteris membris ejus, utique et nos . . . in aliquo loco casus invenimur.' The sufferings of the Christians were often made an argument against them, as above, 'Hoc inquitis,' *etc.* Comp. Arnob. ii. 60; S. Cypr. *ad Demet.* 11; Lactant. v. 21, 22; S. Aug. *de civ. Dei* i. 29; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 34.

5. **laetamur magis,** *etc.* Similarly Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 11, of the necessity of the fulfilment of prophecies respecting suffering. The question 'Cur bonis accidunt mala, cum sit Providentia?' is discussed by Seneca, *de providentia.*

12. **titulo.** See note, ch. 44.

**infructuosi in negotiis.** (3) The Christians were regarded with aversion as being 'profitless in ordinary business': see note, ch. 2.

nimus gratiam nos debere Deo Domino Creatori; nullum fructum operum ejus repudiamus; plane temperamus, ne ultra modum aut perperam utamur. Itaque non sine foro, non sine macello, non sine balneis, tabernis, officinis, stabulis, nundinis vestris, ceterisque commerciis cohabitamus in hoc saeculo. Navigamus et nos vobiscum et militamus, et rusticamur, et mercamur; proinde miscemus artes, operas nostras publicamus usui vestro. Quomodo infructuosi videamur negotiis vestris, cum quibus et de quibus vivimus, non scio. Sed si caeremonias tuas non frequento, attamen et illa die homo sum. Non lavo sub noctem Saturnalibus, ne et noctem et diem perdam; attamen lavo et debita hora et salubri, quae mihi et calorem et sanguinem servet; rigere et pallere post lavacrum mortuus possum. Non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis supremam cenantibus mos est; attamen ubi ubi de copiis tuis ceno. Non emo capiti coronam. Quid tua interest, emptis nihilominus floribus quomodo utar? puto gratius [esse] liberis et solutis et undique vagis; sed etsi in coronam coactis, nos coronam naribus novimus, viderint qui per capillum odorantur. Spectaculis non convenimus; quae tamen apud illos coetus venditantur si desideravero, libentius de suis locis sumam. Tura plane non emimus; si Arabiae queruntur, scient Sabaei pluris et

1. **nullum fructum . . . repudiamus**: 'we do not reject the due enjoyment of any of His works'; a dualism resembling more or less Manichaeism was held by some heretical sects. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6; Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 14.

6. **vobiscum et militamus.** See note, ch. 38; but later, in *de pall.* 5; *de coron.* 11, Tertullian discountenances military service as involving an oath incompatible with the baptismal vow.

11. **Saturnalibus.** The Saturnalian festival began on December 17, and the following **salubri** refers to the risk of a chill in cold weather.

14. **Liberalibus.** The Bacchanalian festival; comp. *de spect.* 5: it began on March 17.

15. **bestiariis.** See note, ch. 9. Comp. *Acta SS. Perp. et Fel.* 4.

16. **Non emo capiti coronam.** See *de coron.* 5.

20. **viderint.** See note, ch. 16.

22. **Tura plane non emimus.** See note, ch. 30.

carioris suas merces Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam diis fumigandis. Certe, inquitis, templorum vectigalia quotidie decoquunt, stipes quotusquisque jam jactat. Non [enim] sufficimus et hominibus et diis vestris mendicantibus opem ferre, nec putamus aliis quam petentibus impertiendum. Denique porrigat manum Jupiter et accipiat, cum interim plus nostra misericordia insumit vicatim, quam vestra religio templatim. Sed cetera vectigalia gratias Christianis agent ex fide dependentibus debitum, qua alieno fraudando abstinemus, ut, si ineatur quantum publico pereat fraude et mendacio vestrarum professionum, facile ratio haberi possit, unius speciei querela compensata pro commodo ceterarum rationum.

1. **Christianis sepeliendis.** The Christians embalmed their dead; comp. *de idol.* 11, 'viderint si aedem merces, tura dico . . . nobis quoque insuper ad solatia sepulturae usui sunt;' *de res. carn.* 27; Lactant. ii. 4.

3. **decoquunt**: 'are declining'; *decoquere* is used *absol.* by Cicero for 'becoming bankrupt,' *Phil.* ii. 18. Comp. the remark in Pliny's letter to Trajan on the temples *prope jam desolata.*

4. **diis vestris mendicantibus.** Comp. ch. 13, 'circuit cauponas religio mendicans.'

7. **misericordia insumit vicatim.** It was a complaint of the Emperor Julian that the indigent pagans were neglected by their co-religionists and left to be supported and tended by 'the Galilaeans'; Jul. *Ep.* 49, *ad Arsac.* Sozom. v. 16.

9. **qua alieno fraudando abstinemus**: 'with the same faithfulness as we abstain from defrauding the property of another'; for this elliptical use of *alieno* comp. Sueton. *Tit.* 7, 'alieno abstinuit.' See ch. 46, 'Christianus etiam extra fidelis vocatur'; the integrity of the Christians in all their dealings was notorious.

10. **si ineatur quantum publico**: 'if the point be gone into as to how much is lost to the public exchequer . . .' *Rationem inire* is the usual expression for 'making an estimate.'

11. **professionum.** *Professio* is the technical term for the public declaration or specification of the amount of one's property. Comp. Cicero *Epp. ad Fam.* xvi. 23. 1; Digest. xlix. 14. 2.

12. **unius speciei querela**: 'the complaint with regard to one item (*templorum vectigalia*) being balanced by the gain in all the others.' *Compensare* is regularly constructed with *cum*, as in the next chapter. Cod. Fuld. here reads 'compensatio pro ceterarum rationem securitate.'

## CAPUT XLIII.

Plane confitebor, quinam, si forte, vere de sterilitate Christianorum conqueri possint. Primi erunt lenones, perductores, aquarioli, tum sicarii, venenarii, magi, item harioli, haruspices, mathematici. His infructuosos esse magnus fructus est. Et tamen quodcumque dispendium est rei vestrae per hanc sectam, cum aliquo utique praesidio compensari potest. Quanti habetis, non dico qui jam de vobis daemonia excutiant, non dico jam qui pro vobis quoque vero Deo preces sternant, quia forte non creditis, sed a quibus nihil timere possitis.

## CAPUT XLIV.

At enim illud detrimentum reipublicae, tam grande quam verum, nemo circumspicit, illam injuriam civitatis nullus expendit, quum tot justi impendimur, quum tot innocentes erogamur. Vestros enim jam contestamur actus, qui quotidie judicandis custodiis praesidetis, qui sententiis elogia dispungitis. Tot a vobis nocentes variis criminum elogiis recensentur; quis illic sicarius, quis manticularius, quis sacrilegus, aut corruptor, aut lavantium praedo, idem etiam Christianus adscribitur? aut cum Christiani suo titulo offer-

2. de sterilitate = *infructuosi in negotiis* of preceding chapter.

3. Primi erunt lenones. Comp. *de idol. passim.*

5. mathematici: 'astrologers.' See note on *astris* ch. 1; and on *de Caesare capite consultant*, ch. 35.

8. de vobis daemonia excutiant. Comp. ch. 23, 32, 37.

10. a quibus nihil timere possitis. Comp. ch. 37.

16. erogamur. *Erogare*, lit. = 'to spend'; and so of life spent, 'to destroy,' as here, and ch. 48; *de spect.* 12; *de praescr. haer.* 2.

17. custodiis. See note, ch. 9.

qui sententiis elogia dispungitis. See note on *dispunctio*, ch. 18; and on *elogium*, ch. 2.

20. lavantium praedo. A very common class of thief, relating to whom see the section in the Digest *de furibus balneariis*, xlvii. 17.

21. suo titulo offeruntur: 'are brought into court on their own

untur, quis ex illis etiam talis, quales tot nocentes? De vestris semper aestuat carcer, de vestris semper metalla suspirant, de vestris semper bestiae saginantur, de vestris semper munerarii noxiorum greges pascunt. Nemo illic Christianus, nisi hoc tantum, aut si et aliud, jam non Christianus.

## CAPUT XLV.

Nos ergo soli innocentes. Quid mirum, si necesse est? Enimvero necesse est. Innocentiam a Deo edocti, et perfecte eam novimus ut a perfecto magistro revelatam, et fideliter custodimus, ut ab incontemptibili dispectore mandatam. Vobis autem humana aestimatio innocentiam tradidit, humana item dominatio imperavit; inde nec plenae nec adeo

special indictment,' the charge peculiar to them; *i. e.* of being Christians. *Titulus* = the brief specification of the criminal charge (*elogium*), see note, ch. 2; Sueton. *Calig.* 32, 'praecedente titulo qui caussam poenae indicaret'; and so used above, ch. 6, 39, 42, and below, ch. 49. Comp. S. Mark xv. 26, 'Et erat titulus caussa Ejus inscriptus REX JUDAEORUM;' Sueton. *Dom.* 10. The *titulus* of an accused Christian might be simply CHRISTIANUS (Euseb. v. 1. 39, Οὗτός ἐστιν Ἄτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός), or HOSTIS PUBLICUS (ch. 35), or ἄθεος (*Mart. S. Poly.* 9; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 5; Euseb. iv. 15), or any one of the crimes falsely attributed to the 'genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae' (Sueton. *Nero* 16). For the other uses of *titulus* in Tertullian see note, ch. 1.

4. **munerarii**: 'the givers of gladiatorial shows'; Suet. *Dom.* 10.

**Nemo illic Christianus.** Comp. 1 S. Pet. iv. 15, 16; see note, ch. 39, and below, ch. 46, 'desinunt tum Christiani haberi penes nos'; Min. Felix 35, 'Christianus ibi nullus, nisi aut reus suae religionis, aut profugus.' Gibbon ii. 183.

11. **dispectore.** A word found only in patristic latin; 'observer' = *omnium speculator* below. It recurs *ad uxor.* ii. 8; *de test. an.* 2.

13. **nec plenae nec adeo timendae.** This criticism is perfectly just; see Pressensé iv. 369 ff. The highest standard of Pagan morality, as exhibited in the Stoicism of Seneca, was impotent in results. Heathen ethics neither penetrated to the conscience and soul nor inspired dread in those who despised them; they were neither complete nor sanctioned by penalties; and their failure is a fact witnessed to by the historians and satirists of the empire. Comp. Juven. i. 147 ff.; Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 3; Cyprian. *Ep.* 1 *ad Donat.* On Christian doctrine as the great motive to Christian action see Mozley's *Bampt. Lect.* vii. pp. 136 ff.

timendae estis disciplinae ad innocentiae veritatem. Quanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum quid vere bonum? quanta auctoritas ad exigendum? tam illa falli facilis, quam ista contemni. Atque adeo quid plenius dictum est: non occides, an vero: ne irascaris quidem? Quid perfectius prohibere adulterium, an etiam ab oculorum solitaria concupiscentia arcere? Quid eruditius de maleficio, an et de maleloquio interdicere? Quid instructius, injuriam non permittere, an nec vicem injuriae sinere? dum tamen sciatis ipsas quoque leges vestras, quae videntur ad innocentiam pergere, de divina lege ut antiquiore formam mutuatas. Diximus jam de Mosis aetate. Sed quanta auctoritas legum humanarum, quum illas et evadere homini contingat, et plerumque in admissis delitescere, et aliquando contemnere ex voluntate vel necessitate delinquendi, recogitata etiam brevitate supplicii cujuslibet, non tamen ultra mortem remansuri? Sic et Epicurus omnem cruciatum doloremque depretiat, modicum quidem contemptibilem pronuntiando, magnum vero non diuturnum. Enimvero nos qui sub Deo omnium speculatore dispungimur, quique aeternam ab eo poenam providemus, merito soli innocentiae occurrimus, et pro scientiae plenitudine, et pro latebrarum difficultate, et

12. **Diximus jam de Mosis aetate.** Ch. 19.

13. **contingat.** See note, ch. 19 *frag.*

17. **Epicurus omnem cruciatum.** Comp. Seneca *Epp.* 9, 66, 'dulce est torqueri'; Lucretius iii. 879 ff.:

> 'Scire licet nobis nihil esse in morte timendum:
> Nec miserum fieri, qui non est posse: neque hilum
> Differre, an nullo fuerit jam tempore natus,
> Mortalem vitam mors cui immortalis ademit.'

18. **depretiat**: 'disregards'; a post-class. word found in the Digests in its literal signification; metaphorically as here, 'to make light of,' Sidon. Apol. *Epp.* ii. 10.

20. **omnium speculatore**: 'Who scrutinizes all things.'

**dispungimur**: 'we who are weighed,' estimated, taken account of; see note on *dispunctio*, ch. 18; and comp. *adv. Marc.* iv. 17, 'Si a Creatore, ut a judice et dispunctore meritorum,' *etc.*

21. **occurrimus.** Comp. the use of this verb in the Vulg. Eph. iv. 13; Phil. iii. 11.

pro magnitudine cruciatus, non diuturni, verum sempiterni, eum timentes, quem timere debebit et ipse qui timentes judicat, Deum, non proconsulem timentes.

## CAPUT XLVI.

CONSTITIMUS, ut opinor, adversus omnium criminum intentionem, quae Christianorum sanguinem flagitat. Ostendimus totum statum nostrum, et quibus modis probare possimus ita esse, sicut ostendimus, ex fide scilicet et antiquitate divinarum litterarum, item ex confessione spiritualium potestatum. Quis nos revincere audebit, non arte verborum, sed eadem forma, qua probationem constituimus de veritate?

Sed dum unicuique manifestatur veritas nostra, interim incredulitas, dum de bono sectae hujus obducitur, quod usui

3. **Deum, non proconsulem.** An incidental mention of the chief magistrate, only natural to one living and writing in a proconsular province; see the Introduction page xviii.

5. **Constitimus**: 'we have held our position;' looking back to ch. 4, 'jam de caussa innocentiae consistam' (see note). This position Tertullian maintained by disproving and retorting upon his accusers the charges of secret crime, of sacrilege, and of disloyalty. The proofs of the truth and divine origin of the Christian religion were embraced in the clear statement of its real nature. Lastly he vindicated the Christians from the aspersions cast upon them by popular hatred and fear. One point only remained to be noticed; see below 'philosophiae genus.'

**intentionem.** See note, ch. 27.

6. **flagitat.** This again is a juridical term used of 'summoning a culprit before the court,' as in Tacit. *Hist.* i. 53; but here in its more general sense of 'clamorously demanding.'

8. **ex fide scilicet et antiquitate.** Ch. 19 and 20.

9. **item ex confessione.** Ch. 23.

13. **dum de bono sectae hujus obducitur**: 'whilst it is convicted on the point of the goodness of this sect'; *obducere* admits of very elastic employment in class. writ., but in Tertullian it bears the nearly uniform sense of *refellere, evincere,* or *revincere;* see *adv. Herm.* 38, 'et obduceris corpore eam infinitam faciens,' *etc.*; *de res. carn.* 2, 'proinde et obducimus . . . Obducti dehinc de Deo carnis auctore . . . jam et de resurrectione carnis revincentur'; *de pudic.* 7; *adv. Marc.* i. 21; iii. 16. Its use in ch. 50 is not so clear; see note.

jam et de commercio innotuit, non utique divinum negotium existimat, sed magis philosophiae genus. Eadem, inquit, et philosophi monent et profitentur: innocentiam, justitiam, patientiam, sobrietatem, pudicitiam. Cur ergo quibus comparamur de disciplina, proinde illis non adaequamur ad licentiam impunitatemque disciplinae? vel cur et illi ut pares nostri non urgentur ad officia, quae nos non obeuntes periclitamur? Quis enim philosophum sacrificare, aut dejerare, aut lucernas meridie vanas prostituere compellit? Quin imo et deos vestros palam destruunt, et superstitiones vestras commentariis quoque accusant, laudantibus vobis. Plerique etiam in principes latrant sustinentibus vobis. Et facilius statuis et salariis remunerantur, quam ad bestias pronuntiantur. Sed merito; philosophi enim non Christiani cognominantur. Nomen hoc philosophorum daemonia non fugat. Quidni, quum secundum deos philosophi daemonas deputent? Socratis vox est: si daemonium permittat. Idem et quum aliquid de veritate sapiebat, deos negans, Aesculapio tamen gallinaceum prosecari jam in fine jubebat, credo ob honorem patris ejus, quia Socratem Apollo sapientissimum

2. **philosophiae genus.** (4) This forms the fourth and last objection: 'All said and done, was not Christianity merely a school of philosophy'? 'No,' says Tertullian, 'we have nothing in common with the philosophers; yet if you believe that we have, you ought to extend to us the same licence which they enjoy.'

10. **Quin imo et deos vestros.** On the ridicule heaped upon the gods by the philosophers with popular approval, see above, ch. 12, 14; Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 4; Origen *contr. Cels.* i. 4; Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 3. 8; Tatian 27; Athenag. 7, 24.

13. **salariis.** In its later signification, 'stipends'; see Plin. *N. H.* xxxi. 7. 41, 'sal honoribus etiam militiaeque interponitur, salariis inde dictis, magna apud antiquos auctoritate.'

14. **pronuntiantur**: 'sentenced.' Comp. ch. 2.

18. **Aesculapio.** Plato *Phaed.* 155. Comp. *de coron.* 10; *de anim.* 1.

19. **prosecari.** See note, ch. 9.

20. **Socratem Apollo sapientissimum.** Comp. above, ch. 11; *de anim.* 1; *de coron.* 10; Val. Max. iii. 4, 'Socrates non solum hominum consensu, verum etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus judicatus.' The oracular reply of Apollo, Ἀνδρῶν ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος is given Diog. Laert. ii. 37.

omnium cecinit. O Apollinem inconsideratum! Sapientiae testimonium reddidit ei viro, qui negabat deos esse. In quantum odium flagrat veritas, in tantum qui eam ex fide praestat offendit; qui autem adulterat et affectat, hoc maxime nomine gratiam pangit apud insectatores veritatis, [qua et illusores et contemptores]. Mimice philosophi affectant veritatem et affectando corrumpunt, ut qui gloriam captant: Christiani eam necessario appetunt et integre praestant, ut qui saluti suae curant.

Adeo neque de scientia neque de disciplina, ut putatis, aequamur. Quid enim Thales, ille princeps physicorum, sciscitanti Croeso de divinitate certum renuntiavit, commeatus deliberandi saepe frustratus? Deum quilibet opifex Chris-

2. **testimonium reddidit.** See note, ch. 14.

**In quantum odium,** *etc.*: 'in the same proportion as truth excites hatred, so does he offend who truly sets it forth.' On the antagonism which truth provokes, comp. above, ch. 7.

5. **qua et illusores et contemptores.** Added by some edd.: 'inasmuch as they are its scoffers and despisers.'

6. **Mimice philosophi,** *etc.* Tertullian manifests here a characteristic tone of unfairness towards Greek philosophers of eminence. The anxiety, *argumenti caussa*, to condemn everything non-Christian leads him to point the finger of scorn at the personal failings of the philosophers, and prevents him from appreciating the true value of their philosophy. The opposite method of the Alexandrian apologists has been remarked on in the Introduction.

7. **corrumpunt.** See note, ch. 3.

11. **Quid enim Thales,** *etc. Ad Nat.* ii. 2; but Cicero, *de nat. deor.* i. 22 relates this of Simonides and King Hiero, and he is followed by Minucius Fel. 13, 'Simonides, cum de eo, quid et quales arbitraretur deos ab Hierone tyrannus quaereretur, primo deliberatione diem petiit, postridie biduum prorogavit, mox alterum tantum, admonitus, adjunxit; postremo . . . respondit ille, quod sibi, quanto inquisitio tardior pergeret, tanto veritas fieret obscurior.' The only reply of Thales to a question *de divinitate* which is preserved by Laertius in his life is the following:—τί τὸ θεῖον; τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον, μήτε τελευτήν (i. 36).

**ille princeps physicorum.** Thales was one of the Seven Sages, Cicero *Acad.* iv. 118, 'Thales, unus e septem cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt.' Lactant. iii. 14, 'Thales, qui de rerum natura primus traditur disputasse'; Min. Fel. 19. For an interesting dictum of Thales see Valer. Max. vii. 2. 8.

12. **commeatus deliberandi.** See note, ch. 32.

tianus et invenit et ostendit et exinde totum, quod in Deo quaeritur, re quoque assignat; licet Plato affirmet factitatorem universitatis neque inveniri facilem, et inventum enarrari in omnes difficilem. Ceterum si de pudicitia provocemus, lego partem sententiae Atticae in Socratem corruptorem adolescentium pronuntiatam. Sexum nec femineum mutat Christianus. Novi et Phrynen meretricem Diogenis supra recubantis ardori subantem. Audio et quemdam Speusippum de Platonis schola in adulterio periisse. Christianus uxori suae soli masculus nascitur. Democritus excaecando semetipsum, quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset, et doleret si non esset potitus, incontinentiam emendatione profitetur. At Christianus salvis oculis feminam videt, animo adversus libidinem caecus est. Si de probitate defendam, ecce lutulentis pedibus Diogenes superbos Platonis toros alia superbia deculcat. Christianus nec in pauperem superbit. Si de modestia certem, ecce Pythagoras apud Thurios, Zeno apud Prienenses tyrannidem affectant: Chris-

3. **enarrari in omnes difficilem.** Plato *Tim.* 9: *in omnes* = 'to the vulgar herd'; the *ὄχλος*, to whom the esoteric mysteries of philosophy were not imparted.

4. **provocemus**: 'if we make our appeal on the point of chastity'; see note, ch. 10. On the immorality of many of the Stoic philosophers cp. Juv. ii. 2; Tatian. *Orat.* 2, 3; Wordsworth, *Church Hist.* i. 18.

5. **Socratem corruptorem adolescentium.** See note, ch. 14.

6. **Sexum nec femineum mutat.** Rom. i. 26.

8. **Speusippus.** The nephew and successor of Plato. He is called a 'slave of pleasure,' but he died by his own hand; Diog. Laert. iv. 1, 3.

14. **Si defendam**: 'if I make a defence.' This word, like *provocare* above, and *certare* and *congredi* below, is borrowed from the usage of the law courts, as freq. in Cicero. *Comparare* and *consistere* are military expressions; the latter has occurred more than once, the former is used of matching one opponent against another, Liv. xxx. 28. 8; Sueton. *Calig.* 35; Cicero *pro Quint.* 1. 2.

15. **Diogenes superbos Platonis toros.** The story is told by Laertius vi. 26, *Πατῶν αὐτοῦ ποτε στρώματα . . . ἔφη Πατῶ τὴν Πλάτωνος κενοσπουδίαν. Πρὸς ὃν ὁ Πλάτων, Ὅσον, ὦ Διόγενες, τοῦ τύφου διαφαίνεις, δοκῶν μὴ τετυφῶσθαι.*

18. **tyrannidem . . . aedilitatem.** The highest and lowest degrees of official authority are placed in contrast. On the Christians abstaining

tianus vero nec aedilitatem. Si de animi aequitate congrediar, Lycurgus ἀποκαρτερησιν optavit, quod leges ejus Lacones emendassent: Christianus etiam damnatus gratias agit. Si de fide comparem, Anaxagoras depositum hospitibus denegavit: Christianus etiam extra fidelis vocatur. Si de simplicitate consistam, Aristoteles familiarem suum Hermiam turpiter loco excedere fecit: Christianus nec inimicum suum laedit. Idem Aristoteles tam turpiter Alexandro regendo potius adulatur, quam Plato Dionysio ventris gratia venditatur. Aristippus in purpura sub magna gravitatis superficie nepotatur, et Hippias, dum civitati insidias disponit, occiditur. Hoc pro suis omni atrocitate dissipatis nemo unquam Christianus tentavit.

Sed dicet aliquis, etiam de nostris excedere quosdam a regula disciplinae; desinunt tum Christiani haberi penes nos, philosophi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine et in honore sapientiae perseverant apud vos. Quid adeo simile philosophus et Christianus, Graeciae discipulus et Caeli, famae

from civil magistracy see note, ch. 38; for the popular feeling respecting the aediles, see Juven. x. 102; Pers. i. 130.

2. **Lycurgus ἀποκαρτέρησιν optavit.** See ch. 4; and for ἀποκαρτέρησις, 'death by starvation,' see Quint. *Inst. Orat.* viii. 5.

3. **damnatus gratias agit.** See note, ch. 1.

5. **etiam extra**: 'even to outsiders'; pagans are termed *extranei*, ch. 7, 31. On the honour and integrity (*fides*) of the Christians see ch. 42, and note. The greed of the philosophers for money is denounced by Tatian *Orat.* 25.

6. **Aristoteles.** Diog. Laert. v. 3, 4.

10. **Aristippus . . . nepotatur**: 'lives a profligate life'; Diog. Laert. ii. 65 ff.

11. **Hippias.** Nothing is related of the death of Hippias the sophist, who is mentioned Xenoph. *Mem.* iv. 4; Cicero *de orat.* 32. 127; and it has been supposed that Tertullian confused the sophist with his namesake Hippias the tyrant who fell in the battle of Marathon; or else that some other name should be read in the text, the MSS. showing some variations.

15. **desinunt tum Christiani.** This, like the expression at the end of ch. 44, refers to the excommunication mentioned ch. 39; see note.

17. **Quid adeo simile,** *etc.* Comp. the celebrated passage in which Tertullian denies that the Church and the Academy have anything in common; *de praescr. haer.* 7.

negotiator et salutis, verborum et factorum operator, rerum aedificator et destructor, interpolator erroris et integrator veritatis, furator ejus et custos.

## CAPUT XLVII.

ADHUC enim mihi proficit antiquitas praestructa divinae litteraturae, quo facile credatur thesaurum eam fuisse posteriori cuique sapientiae. Et si non onus jam voluminis temperarem, etiam excurrerem in hanc quoque probationem. Quis poetarum, quis sophistarum, qui non de prophetarum fonte potaverit? Inde igitur philosophi sitim ingenii sui rigaverunt; nam quia quaedam de nostris habent, ea propter nos comparant illis. Inde, opinor, et a quibusdam philosophia legibus quoque ejecta est, a Thebanis dico, a Spartiatis et Argivis. Dum ad nostra conantur et homines gloriae, ut diximus, et eloquentiae solius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis, exinde regestum pro instituto curiosi-

5. **Adhuc enim mihi proficit**: 'bears out this point of my argument.'

**praestructa.** Ch. 19.

9. **quis sophistarum . . . potaverit.** On the notion that pagan philosophers were indebted to Holy Scripture for many of their ideas, see also Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 54; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 17 (referring to S. John x. 8), *ταύτῃ δ' ἂν εἶεν 'κλέπται καὶ λῃσταὶ' οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλόσοφοι, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου παρουσίας παρὰ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν προφητῶν μέρη τῆς ἀληθείας οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν λαβόντες, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἴδια σφετερισάμενοι δόγματα, etc.*; *ib.* 21, *περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρ' Ἑβραΐων τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐσκευωρῆσθαι δόγματα . . . διαληψόμεθα.* Comp. Tert. *de test. anim.* 5. See Gladstone's *Gleanings* vii. 40; 'Paradise Regained' b. iv.

12. **nos comparant illis**: 'we are likened to them by you.'

14. **Dum ad nostra conantur**: 'Whilst they are endeavouring to imitate our doctrines.'

**homines gloriae, ut diximus.** Ch. 46; comp. ch. 19 *frag.*, 'gloriae homines, si quid invenerant, ut proprium facerent, adulteraverunt.'

15. **si quid offenderunt**: 'if they stumble at anything in our sacred writings.'

16. **digestis.** Applied to the Scriptures *adv. Marc.* iv. 3; and used in the sing. 'digestum Lucae,' *ib.* iv. 5.

**regestum**: 'transcribed and altered to suit the plan of their own fancy'; see note on *curiositas,* ch. 25.

tatis ad propria verterunt, neque satis credentes divina esse, quo minus interpolarent, neque satis intelligentes, ut adhuc tunc subnubila, etiam ipsis Judaeis obumbrata, quorum propria videbantur. Nam et si qua simplicitas erat veritatis, eo magis scrupulositas humana fidem aspernata nutabat, per quod in incertum miscuerunt etiam quod invenerant certum. Inventum enim solummodo Deum non ut invenerant disputaverunt, ut de qualitate et de natura ejus et de sede disceptent. Alii incorporalem asseverant, alii corporalem, qua Platonici, qua et Stoici; alii ex atomis, alii ex numeris qua Epicurus et Pythagoras; alii ex igne, qua Heraclito visum est; et Platonici quidem curantem rerum; contra Epicurei

5. **nutabat**: 'faltered'; *al.* mutabat, 'changed': *nutat* is the reading in the parallel passage *ad Nat.* ii. 2.

7. **Inventum enim solummodo Deum**: 'For they disputed about God (Whose existence they found simply revealed in the Scriptures) not as they found Him revealed, but proceeded rather to discuss His quality, His nature, and His abode.' The *scrupulositas* of the philosophers, in its scorn of the *simplicitas veritatis*, which demanded only the exercise of *fides*, confused matters comparatively plain; so, with respect to God, their inquisitiveness was not satisfied with the simple revelation of His existence, but disputed about points with regard to which revelation had been silent.

8. **de sede.** Comp. Cicero *de nat. deor.* i. 103, 104; Seneca *de vit. beat.* 31; Lucan. ix. 582 ff.

9. **incorporalem.** The doctrines of Plato on this point are given by Diog. Laert. iii. 77, *δοκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, ἀσώματον εἶναι*: *etc.* For the belief, referred to a little below ('Platonici quidem curantem rerum'), that God superintended the affairs of this world, see *ib.* 79, *οἴεται δὲ καὶ θεοὺς ἐφορᾶν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα*; comp. Plat. *Polit.* 273.

**qua Platonici, qua et Stoici**: 'as the Platonists and Stoics, respectively.' See ch. 21, and for the materialism of the Stoic philosophy issuing in a pantheistic fatalism, the writings of Marcus Aurel. (see note on *fato*, ch. 1), and Seneca. Comp. Merivale *Hist. Rom.* vi. 415 ff. Wordsworth, *Ch. Hist.* i. 17 f.

10. **qua Epicurus et Pythagoras.** See Diog. Laert. x. 41 ff. on the Epicurean doctrine of atoms; and *id.* viii. 25 ff. on the Pythagoraean theory of numbers. *Qua* seems to be required again before *Pythagoras*, 'as Epicurus and Pythagoras respectively.'

11. **ex igne, qua Heraclito.** Diog. Laert. ix. 7, *ἐκ πυρὸς τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλύεσθαι*: *etc.* Plato, too, held somewhat similar opinions, Diog. Laert. iii. 74.

otiosum et inexercitum, et ut ita dixerim, neminem humanis rebus; positum vero extra mundum Stoici, qui figuli modo extrinsecus torqueat molem hanc; intra mundum Platonici, qui gubernatoris exemplo, intra illud maneat, quod regat. Sic et de ipso mundo natus innatusve sit, decessurus mansurusve sit, variant; sic et de animae statu, quam alii divinam et aeternam, alii dissolubilem contendunt: ut quis sensit, ita et intulit aut reformavit.

Nec mirum, si vetus instrumentum ingenia philosophorum interverterunt. Ex horum semine et nostram hanc novitiolam paraturam viri quidam suis opinionibus ad philosophicas sententias adulteraverunt, et de una via obliquos multos tramites et inexplicabiles sciderunt. Quod ideo suggesserim, ne cui nota varietas sectae hujus in hoc quoque nos philosophis adaequare videatur, et ex varietate defensionum judicet veritatem. Expedite autem praescribimus adulteris nostris illam esse regulam veritatis, quae veniat a

1. **neminem humanis rebus**: 'a nonentity as regards human affairs.'

2. **extra mundum Stoici.** This misrepresents the Stoic teaching (see above, ch. 21), which placed the ruling spirit *within* the world, identifying it with the whole; Senec. *Quaest. nat.* pref. 'Solus est omnia, opus suum, et extra et infra tenet'; comp. *de vit. beat.* 31. The Epicureans placed God outside the world; Senec. *de benef.* iv. 19, 'Tu, denique, Epicure, Deum inermem facis; omnia illi tela, omnem detraxisti potentiam, et ne cuiquam metuendus esset, projecisti ipsum extra metam'; comp. *id. Epist.* 90.

7. **ut quis sensit,** *etc.* Comp. Athan. *de Incarn.* 2.

9. **vetus instrumentum.** See note, ch. 18.

10. **Ex horum semine . . . viri**: *i.e.* heretics who, like Marcion and Valentinus, excised and interpolated the New Testament to bring it into accord with their own theories; Orig. *contr. Cels.* ii. 27; comp. *adv. Herm.* 8, 'haereticorum patriarchae philosophi'; *de praescr. haer.* 7, 30; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 17.

15. **defensionum,** *etc.* Cod. Fuld. here reads *defectionem vindicet veritatis.*

16. **praescribimus**: see note, ch. 7.

17. **regulam veritatis**: with this definition of the Rule of Faith comp. *de praescr. haer.* 14, 'Haec regula a Christo, ut probabitur, instituta, nullas habet apud nos quaestiones, nisi quas haereses inferunt, et quae haereticos faciunt'; *ib.* 37, 'in ea regula incedimus quam ecclesia ab Apostolis, Apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo tradidit.'

Christo, transmissa per comites ipsius, quibus aliquanto posteriores diversi isti commentatores probabuntur. Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt, operantibus aemulationem istam spiritibus erroris. Ab his adulteria hujusmodi salutaris disciplinae subornata; ab his quaedam etiam fabulae immissae, quae de similitudine fidem infirmarent veritatis, vel eam sibi potius evincerent, ut quis ideo non putet Christianis credendum, quia nec poetis, nec philosophis, vel ideo magis poetis et philosophis existimet credendum, quia non Christianis. Itaque et ridemur Deum praedicantes judicaturum. Sic enim et poetae et philosophi tribunal apud inferos ponunt. Si gehennam comminemur, quae est ignis arcani subterraneus ad poenam thesaurus, proinde decachinnamur. Sic enim et Pyriphlegethon apud mortuos amnis est. Et si paradisum nominemus, locum divinae amoenitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus desti-

1. **transmissa per comites ipsius.** So *de praescr. haer.* 32: the historical validity of the *regula fidei* is traced from Christ and His Apostles through the bishops of the several churches, 'ordinem episcoporum . . . per successiones ab initio decurrentem.' See Irenaeus *adv. haer.* iv. 26. 2. This *una traditio* was the great bond (*contesseratio*) linking together the true members of the Church; see *de praescr. haer.* 20, 36.

2. **posteriores diversi isti commentatores.** Arguments against heretics were frequently based on the novelty or lateness of their dogmas, and the superiority of Catholic Christianity demonstrated from its antiquity. See *adv. Hermog.* 1 (quoted in note, ch. 7); *de praescr. haer.* 29, 30; Athan. *orat. contr. Arian.* i. 8; *de concil. Arim.* 4, with the notes in *Lib. Fath.*

3. **operantibus aemulationem istam spiritibus erroris**: comp. ch. 21, 'qui penes vos ejusmodi fabulas aemulas ad destructionem veritatis istiusmodi praeministraverunt'; see note, ch. 2.

6. **quae de similitudine**: 'which from their likeness to the truth should impair its trustworthiness, or rather entirely usurp its place.'

15. **Et si paradisum.** Tertullian's views on the state of the soul after death will be found *de anim.* 7, 55 ff.; *de res. carn.* 17, 43; *adv. Marc.* iii. 24; iv. 34; *Scorp.* 12. He held that the Martyrs and Patriarchs alone were admitted into Paradise, and that other souls remained in a state either of refreshment or torment awaiting the 'perfect consummation and bliss' or the final condemnation of the Day of Judgment. See note in *Lib. Fath.* pp. 116 ff.

natum, maceria quadam igneae illius zonae a notitia orbis communis segregatum, Elysii campi fidem occupaverunt. Unde haec, oro vos, philosophis aut poetis tam consimilia? non nisi de nostris sacramentis: si de nostris sacramentis, ut de prioribus, ergo fideliora sunt nostra, magisque credenda, quorum imagines quoque fidem inveniunt; si de suis sensibus, jam ergo sacramenta nostra imagines posteriorum habebuntur, quod rerum forma non sustinet; nunquam enim corpus umbra aut veritatem imago praecedit.

## CAPUT XLVIII.

AGE jam, si quis philosophus affirmet, ut ait Laberius de sententia Pythagorae, hominem fieri ex mulo, colubram ex muliere, et in eam opinionem omnia argumenta eloquii virtute detorserit, nonne consensum movebit et fidem infiget etiam ab animalibus abstinendi? propterea que persuasum quis hoc habeat, ne forte bubulam de aliquo proavo suo obsonet. At enim Christianus, si de homine hominem ipsumque de Caio Caium reducem repromittat, lapidibus magis, nec saltem caestibus a populo exigetur? Quasi non, quaecumque ratio praeest animarum humanarum in cor-

2. **occupaverunt**, 'have anticipated.'

4. **de nostris sacramentis**, 'from our mysteries,' or 'doctrines'; see note, ch. 7.

8. **nunquam . . . veritatem imago praecedit.** So again of Catholic truth and heresy, *de praescr. haer.* 29, 'sed enim in omnibus veritas imaginem antecedit; post rem similitudo succedit'; comp. *de carn. Chr.* 2; *adv. Marc.* i. 1, 20, *etc.*; *adv. Prax.* 2.

11. **Laberius.** A celebrated farce writer, who died B.C. 43. He is mentioned Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 6; and quoted Macrob. ii. 7; comp. Suet. *Jul. Caes.* 39.

18. **Caio Caium.** See note, ch. 3.

19. **Quasi non . . . erunt aliunde.** So Cod. Fuld. The varr. lectt. in this passage seem only explicable on the supposition of a second edition of the Apology; see note, ch. 19 *frag. Al.* 'Si quaecunque ratio praeest animarum humanarum reciprocandarum in corpora, cur non in eandem substantiam redeant, cum hoc sit restitui id esse, quod fuerat? Jam non ipsae sunt, quae fuerant, quia non potuerunt esse, quod non

pora reciprocandarum, ipsa exigat illas in eadem corpora revocari; quia hoc sit revocari, esse quod fuerant. Nam si non id sunt quod fuerant, id est, humanum et id ipsum corpus indutae, jam non ipsae erunt quae fuerant. Porro, quae jam non erunt ipsae, quomodo redisse dicentur? Aut aliud factae non erunt ipsae, aut manentes ipsae non erunt aliunde. Multis etiam jocis et otio opus erit, si velimus ad hanc partem lascivire, quis in quam bestiam reformari videretur. Sed de nostra magis defensione, qui proponimus, multo utique dignius credi, hominem ex homine rediturum, quemlibet pro quolibet, dum hominem, ut eadem qualitas animae in eandem restauretur condicionem, etsi non effigiem, certe quia ratio restitutionis destinatio judicii est, necessario idem ipse qui fuerat exhibebitur, ut boni seu contrarii meriti judicium a Deo referat. Ideoque repraesentabuntur et corpora, quia neque pati quicquam potest anima sola sine stabili materia, id est carne; et quod omnino de judicio Dei pati debent animae, non sine carne meruerunt, intra quam omnia egerunt.

Sed quomodo, inquis, dissoluta materia exhiberi potest?

erant, nisi desinent esse quod fuerant.' 'If any argument does hold good for the return of human souls into bodies, why may they not return into the same substance (as before); since restoration consists in being what one was before? Else in the other case they are not the very same as they were; because they could only be what they were not by ceasing to be what they were'; *i. e.* the continuity of the soul's perfect life demands its ultimate reunion with its own body and no other.

1. **in eadem corpora.** The question of the identity of the resurrection-body, an identity maintained through all the changes implied in dissolution and glorification, is discussed by Tert. *de res. carn.* 14–18, 15–57. The identity is 'essential' not 'accidental,' and it is necessary for the complete restoration of each person. See Kaye, pp. 258 ff. Westcott, *Gosp. of Resurrection*, ch. ii. § 7.

17. **sine stabili materia, id est carne**: comp. *de test. anim.* 4, 'nihil mali ac boni sentire possis, sine carnis passionalis facultate'; but he argues differently *de res. carn.* 17, 'Nos autem animam corporalem et hic profitemur, et in suo volumine probamus, habentem proprium genus substantiae, soliditatis, per quam quid et sentire et pati possit'; comp. *de anim.* 7. See Kaye, pp. 178–199.

Considera temetipsum, O homo, et fidem rei invenies. Recogita quid fueris, antequam esses: utique nihil; meminisses enim, si quid fuisses. Qui ergo nihil fueras priusquam esses, idem nihil factus cum esse desieris, cur non possis esse rursus de nihilo, ejusdem ipsius auctoris voluntate, qui te voluit esse de nihilo? Quid novi tibi eveniet? qui non eras, factus es; quum iterum non eris, fies. Redde si potes rationem qua factus es, et tunc require qua fies. Et tamen facilius utique fies quod fuisti aliquando, quia aeque non difficile factus es, quod nunquam fuisti aliquando. Dubitabitur, credo, de Dei viribus, qui tantum corpus hoc mundi de eo quod non fuerat, non minus quam de morte vacationis et inanitatis composuit animatum spiritu omnium animarum animatore, signatum et per ipsum humanae resurrectionis exemplum in testimonium vobis. Lux quotidie interfecta resplendet, et tenebrae pari vice decedendo succedunt, sidera defuncta reviviscunt, tempora ubi finiuntur incipiunt, fructus consumuntur et redeunt; certe semina non nisi corrupta et dissoluta fecundius surgunt, omnia pereundo servantur, omnia de interitu reformantur. Tu, homo, tantum nomen, si intelligas te, vel de titulo Pythiae discens, dominus omnium morientium et resurgentium, ad hoc morieris ut pereas?

9. **quia aeque non difficile**: comp. *de res. carn.* 11; Min. Felix 34, 'Difficilius est id quod non sit incipere, quam id quod fuerit iterare'; Lactant. vii. 23. The argument is a common one in the Fathers. Ashton proposed to read *quod difficilius* for *non difficile.*

12. **vacationis et inanitatis**: Gen. i. 2, 'terra autem erat inanis et vacua.'

15. **Lux quotidie**, *etc.* The revolutions of Nature were often referred to as foreshadowing the resurrection of the body; see *de res. carn.* 12, 13; S. Clem. Rom. i. Cor. 25 (where the fable of the phoenix is similarly adduced); Epiphan. *Ancor.* 84 (quoted Pearson Art. xi. fol. 376). The analogies are not strictly sound, see below, 'Ergo, inquitis,' *etc.*

18. **semina non nisi corrupta.** S. John xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 36.

21. **de titulo Pythiae**: *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν.* The apophthegm was Thales'; Diog. Laert. i. 40.

22. **ad hoc morieris**: 'shalt thou indeed die so as to utterly perish?' This adverbial use of *ad hoc* frequently occurs in late prose writers.

Ubicumque resolutus fueris, quaecumque te materia destruxerit, hauserit, aboleverit, in nihilum prodegerit, reddet te. Ejus est nihilum ipsum, cujus et totum.

Ergo, inquitis, semper moriendum erit, et semper resurgendum. Si ita rerum Dominus destinasset, ingratis experireris conditionis tuae legem. At nunc non aliter destinavit, quam praedicavit. Quae ratio universitatem ex diversitate composuit, ut omnia ex aemulis substantiis sub unitate constarent ex vacuo et solido, ex animali et inanimali, ex comprehensibili et incomprehensibili, ex luce et tenebris, ex ipsa vita et morte; eadem aevum quoque ita destinata ac distincta condicione conseruit, ut prima haec pars ab exordio rerum, quam incolimus, temporali aetate ad finem defluat, sequens vero, quam exspectamus, in infinitam aeternitatem propagetur. Cum ergo finis et limes medius, qui interhiat, adfuerit, ut etiam mundi ipsius species transferatur aeque temporalis, quae illi dispositioni aeternitatis aulaei vice oppansa est; tunc restituetur omne humanum genus, ad expungendum quod in isto aevo boni seu mali meruit, et

4. **Ergo, inquitis, semper moriendum erit.** *Ergo* looks back to the analogies adduced from Nature in the passage above 'Lux quotidie,' *etc.* They imply, it is said, a recurrence of deaths and resurrections. Tertullian tacitly admits, but passes by the objection; these analogies (he would reply) are illustrations, not arguments. See Kaye, p. 258.

6. **conditionis**, 'creation'; as above, ch. 19 frag., 'mundi conditionis'; *de spect.* 2; *de cult. fem.* i. 8. This rare word (confined to eccl. latin), from *condo*, must be distinguished from *condicio*, from *condico* (whence our English word 'condition'); see below 'distincta condicione' and *freq.* It is less likely to be confused with *condītio* from *condio.*

9. **ex comprehensibili**: of literal, not intellectual, comprehension; see note, ch. 17.

11. **aevum**, 'time,' or rather, 'the whole course of being,' *vita*; including this life and the next; see note, ch. 18.

15. **finis et limes medius, qui interhiat**, 'the end and mid-boundary which yawns between'; *i. e.* between the *prima pars aevi* and the *sequens pars aevi.* I do not understand *limes medius* to contain any reference to Tertullian's chiliastic opinions; but see note, *Lib. Fath.*; comp. Lucan. i. 457, 'longae . . . vitae Mors media est.'

16. **mundi ipsius species transferatur**: 1 Cor. vii. 31; 1 S. John ii. 17; S. Matt. xxiv. 35.

exin dependendum in immensam aeternitatis perpetuitatem. Ideoque nec mors jam, nec rursus ac rursus resurrectio, sed erimus iidem qui nunc, nec alii post: Dei quidem cultores apud Deum semper, superinduti substantia propria aeternitatis; profani vero et qui non integri ad Deum, in poena aeque jugis ignis, habentis ex ipsa natura ejus, divinam scilicet subministrationem incorruptibilitatis. Noverunt et philosophi diversitatem arcani et publici ignis. Ita longe alius est qui usui humano, alius qui judicio Dei apparet, sive de caelo fulmina stringens, sive de terra per vertices montium eructans; non enim absumit quod exurit, sed, dum erogat, reparat. Adeo manent montes semper ardentes, et qui de caelo tangitur, salvus est, ut nullo jam igni decinerescat. Et hoc erit testimonium ignis aeterni, hoc exemplum jugis judicii poenam nutrientis. Montes uruntur et durant: quid nocentes et Dei hostes?

2. **nec mors jam, nec rursus**: 'neither death absolute, nor recurring resurrections.'

4. **superinduti substantia propria aeternitatis**: 2 Cor. v. 4. The *subst. prop. aet.* is that of the Angels, according to Tertullian. See *de cult. fem.* i. 2, 'Nam et vobis eadem tunc substantia angelica repromissa,' *etc.*; *ad uxor.* i. 1, 'translatis in angelicam qualitatem'; *adv. Marc.* 3, 'brabium angelicae substantiae'; *de res. carn.* 36, 'transituri in statum angelicum, per indumentum illud incorruptibilitatis, per substantiae, resuscitatae tamen, demutationem.' Cp. S. Luke xx. 36.

6. **habentis**: so the MSS. Rig. preferred *habentes*, agreeing with *profani*; and *divina* for *divinam*.

9. **apparet**. See note, ch. 13.

11. **dum erogat**: 'even whilst it destroys': see note, ch. 44.

12. **qui de caelo tangitur**, *etc.* There are three interpretations of this: 1. That a body which has been struck by lightning is proof against fire (comp. Plin. xi. 37, who mentions the ancient belief that the heart of anyone who had died from poison could not be burnt). 2. That there is a reference to the regulation of Numa by which no one struck by lightning was permitted to be cremated, but was buried on the spot (*bidental*, see Pers. *Sat.* ii. 27, Hor. *Ars poet.* 471), and that Tertullian regarded this custom as a typical analogy. 3. That Tertullian simply means that death by lightning leaves the body uninjured and whole (so Min. Fel. 35, 'sicut ignes fulminum corpora tangunt, nec absumunt').

## CAPUT XLIX.

Haec sunt quae in nobis solis praesumptiones vocantur, in philosophis et poetis summae scientiae et insignia ingenia. Illi prudentes, nos inepti; illi honorandi, nos irridendi, imo eo amplius et puniendi. Falsa nunc sint quae tuemur, et merito praesumptiones, attamen necessaria; inepta, attamen utilia; si quidem meliores fieri coguntur, qui eis credunt metu aeterni supplicii et spe aeterni refrigerii. Itaque non expedit falsa dici, nec inepta haberi, quae expedit vera praesumi. Nullo titulo damnari licet omnino quae prosunt. In vobis itaque praesumptio est haec ipsa, quae damnat utilia. Proinde nec inepta esse possunt; certe ipsi falsa et inepta, nulli tamen noxia; nam et multis aliis similia, quibus nullas poenas irrogatis, vanis et fabulosis, inaccusatis et impunitis, ut innoxiis. Sed in ejusmodi errores (si utique) irrisu judicandum est, non gladiis et ignibus, et crucibus, et bestiis;

2. **praesumptiones**: see note, ch. 10. This charge of 'presumption' is retorted below, 'In vobis itaque praesumptio est haec ipsa.' The 'resurrection of the flesh' was the article of Christian belief specially attacked and ridiculed by the heathen; comp. *de test. anim.* 4, 'Ea opinio Christiana . . . praesumptioni deputatur'; *de anim.* 1 *ad fin.*

3. **insignia ingenia.** See note, ch. 15.

4. **Illi prudentes, nos inepti**: Lactant. iv. 13; Orig. *contr. Cels.* iii. 24, 49.

5. **Falsa nunc sint quae tuemur.** This is an 'oeconomic' argument which bases the Christian plea for toleration on the lowest grounds, that of mere expediency; 'true or false,' Tertullian says, 'Christianity is undoubtedly beneficial; and if it *is* false, it deserves only the smile of indulgent pity, not the persecution of irrational hatred.'

10. **Nullo titulo damnari licet omnino.** 'On no charge whatever ought that which is beneficial to be utterly condemned. Consequently that very presumption (with which you charge us) lies at your door, in that it condemns what is useful.'

15. **Sed in ejusmodi errores.** Here again the argument adopts the heathen point of view, and even on that ground is able to claim leniency towards the Christian belief.

de qua iniquitate saevitiae non modo caecum hoc vulgus exsultat et insultat, sed et quidam vestrum, quibus favor vulgi de iniquitate captatur, gloriantur, quasi non totum, quod in nos potestis, nostrum sit arbitrium. Certe, si velim, Christianus sum: tunc ergo me damnabis, si damnari velim; cum vero quod in me potes, nisi velim, non potes, jam meae voluntatis est quod potes, non tuae potestatis. Proinde et vulgus vane de nostra vexatione gaudet; proinde enim nostrum est gaudium, quod sibi vindicat, qui malumus damnari, quam a Deo excidere: contra, illi qui nos oderunt, dolere, non gaudere debebant, consecutis nobis quod elegimus.

## CAPUT L.

ERGO, inquitis, cur querimini quod vos insequamur, si pati vultis, cum diligere debeatis per quos patimini quod vultis? Plane volumus pati, verum eo more, quo et bellum nemo quidem libens patitur, cum et trepidare et periclitari sit necesse; tamen et proeliatur omnibus viribus, et vincens in proelio gaudet, qui de proelio querebatur, quia et gloriam consequitur et praedam. Proelium est nobis, quod provocamur ad tribunalia, ut illic sub discrimine capitis pro veritate certemus. Victoria est autem, pro quo certaveris, obtinere. Ea victoria habet, et gloriam placendi Deo, et

2. **sed et quidam vestrum,** *i. e.* of the magistrates, to whom the Apology is addressed, and who are similarly distinguished from the *vulgus*, ch. 35, 37.

3. **quasi non totum ... arbitrium:** 'as if the whole of your power against us were not dependent on our own will.' 'A man who becomes a Christian,' Tertullian would say, 'perfectly understands the position in which he places himself by so doing. He chooses to place himself in your power, therefore your power is derived from his will.' Comp. *ad Scap.* 1 *init.*

13. **Ergo, inquitis, cur querimini.** A heathen retort, based upon the statement of the Christians' willingness to suffer: 'Why, then, do you grumble (you say), if . . .'

15. **bellum nemo quidem.** So Cod. Fuld. *Cet.* bellum miles. Nemo quippe, *etc.*

praedam vivendi in aeternum. Sed obducimur; certe cum obtinuimus: ergo vicimus, cum occidimur; denique evadimus, cum obducimur. Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur. Hic est habitus victoriae nostrae; haec palmata vestis; tali curru triumphamus.

Merito itaque victis non placemus: propterea enim desperati et perditi existimamur. Sed haec desperatio et perditio penes vos, in caussa gloriae et famae, vexillum virtutis extollunt. Mucius dextram suam libens in ara reliquit: o sublimitas animi! Empedocles totum sese Catanensium Aetnaeis incendiis donavit: o vigor mentis! Aliqua Carthaginis conditrix rogo secundum matrimonium dedit: o praeconium castitatis! Regulus, ne unus pro multis hostibus viveret, toto corpore cruces patitur: o virum fortem et in

1. **Sed obducimur**: 'we are afflicted,' 'overwhelmed': *obducere* in late latin has the sense of *laedere, violare,* and may be so used here, though it has also been explained in the sense of *expungere*; comp. ch. 46, and note.

3. **sarmenticios et semaxios**: 'faggot-men and halfaxle-men'; comp. *de pudic.* 22, 'puta in axe, jam incendio astructo,' *etc.*

6. **palmata vestis.** The *tunica palmata,* or robe embroidered with palm-branches, worn by victorious generals in their triumphal processions; Liv. x. 7; xxx. 15; Martial vii. 2. 8; Val. Max. ix. 1. 5.

7. **desperati et perditi existimamur.** See notes, ch. 27; *ad Nat.* i. 18, 'sed vestris ista ad gloriam, nostris ad duritiam deputatis.'

10. **Mucius.** C. Mucius Scaevola, the would-be assassin of Porsena; Liv. ii. 12; Val. Max. iii. 3. 1; Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 12; Martial x. 25.

11. **Empedocles.** Comp. *de anim.* 32; *ad mart.* 4; Diog. Laert. viii. 70.

12. **Aliqua Carthaginis . . . dedit.** Verg. *Aen.* iv. 504 ff.

13. **conditrix.** These late feminine forms are very much affected by Tertullian. We have already met with *obumbratrix,* ch. 9; *pollicitatrix,* ch. 23; *despectrix,* ch. 26. *Avocatrix, auctrix, operatrix, dissolutrix, praedicatrix, aversatrix,* are read *de anim.* 1, 7, 11, 42, 46, 51; *animatrix, consecratrix, Scorp.* 3. 12; *repertrix, de pudic.* 7; *cessatrix, adv. Marc.* i. 24; *negotiatrix, conflictatrix, ib.* ii. 3, 14; *cantrix, ib.* iii. 5; *reprobatrix, ib.* iv. 36; *negatrix, de idol.* 23; *interpolatrix, de praescr. haer.* 7, *deflectrix, adv. Val.* 38. Some of these Tertullian seems to have coined for his own special use, and the above list is not exhaustive.

14. **Regulus.** Cicero *de Officiis* iii. 26. 99; Hor. *Carm.* iii. 5; Val. Max. ii. 10. 8; the incident was described in the 18th (lost) book of Livy.

captivitate victorem! Anaxarchus, cum in exemplum ptisanae pilo contunderetur: Tunde, tunde, aiebat, Anaxarchi follem, Anaxarchum enim non tundis: o philosophi magnanimitatem, qui de tali suo exitu etiam jocabatur! Omitto eos qui cum gladio proprio aliove genere mortis mitiore de laude pepigerunt. Ecce enim et tormentorum certamina coronantur a vobis. Attica meretrix, carnifice jam fatigato, postremo linguam suam comestam in faciem tyranni saevientis exspuit, ut exspueret et vocem, ne conjuratos confiteri posset, si etiam victa voluisset. Zeno Eleates, consultus a Dionysio quidnam philosophia praestaret, quum respondisset, contemptum mortis, flagellis tyranni subjectus sententiam suam ad mortem usque signabat. Certe Laconum flagella, sub oculis etiam hortantium propinquorum acerbata, tantum honorem tolerantiae domui conferunt, quantum sanguinis fuderint. O gloriam licitam, quia humanam, cui nec praesumptio perdita, nec persuasio desperata deputatur in contemptu mortis et atrocitatis omnimodae, cui tantum pro patria, pro agro, pro imperio, pro amicitia pati permissum est, quantum pro Deo non licet! Et tamen illis omnibus et statuas defunditis, et imagines inscribitis, et titulos inciditis in aeternitatem; quantum de monumentis potestis scilicet, praestatis et ipsi quodammodo mortuis resurrec-

1. **Anaxarchus.** Diog. Laert. x. 59, πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον δὲ οὐ πλήττεις. Much the same story is related of Zeno of Elea, Diog. Laert. ix. 28, Δὴ γάρ σε λαβὼν ὁ τύραννος, ἐν ὅλμῳ κόψε· τί τοῦτο λέγω; σῶμα γάρ, οὐχὶ δέ σε.

8. **linguam suam . . . exspuit.** This is also related of Anaxarchus and of Zeno by Diog. Laert. in the passages above cited; comp. Val. Max. iii. 3. 4, of Anaxarchus.

10. **Zeno . . . a Dionysio.** The tyrant under whom Zeno suffered is called Nearchus or Diomedon in Diog. ix. 26; comp. Val. Max. iii. 3. 2 f.

11. **contemptum mortis.** Cod. Fuld. *contemptu mortis impassibilis fieri.*

21. **statuas defunditis**: 'you cast' (*lit.* 'pour out,' *i. e.* the molten metal into the shape of) 'statues.'

**titulos inciditis.** See notes on *titulus*, ch. 1, and *incidere*, ch. 25; and for a similar expression, Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 34.

23. **quodammodo mortuis resurrectionem.** *Resurrectio* is used loosely for the continuance as it were of life after death in life-like

tionem. Hanc qui veram a Deo sperat, si pro Deo patiatur, insanus est.

Sed hoc agite, boni praesides, meliores multo apud populum, si illis Christianos immolaveritis. Cruciate, torquete, damnate, atterite nos: probatio est enim innocentiae nostrae iniquitas vestra. Ideo nos haec pati Deus patitur. Nam et proxime, ad lenonem damnando Christianam potius quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiae apud nos atrociorem omni poena et omni morte reputari. Nec quicquam tamen proficit exquisitior quaeque crudelitas vestra: illecebra est magis sectae. Plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a vobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum. Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris et mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callinicus. Nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos, quantos Christiani factis docendo. Illa ipsa obstinatio, quam exprobratis, magistra est. Quis enim non contemplatione ejus concutitur ad requirendum, quid intus in re sit? Quis non, ubi requisivit, accedit, ubi accessit, pati exoptat, ut

statues; comp. Hor. *Carm.* iv. 8. 13; 14. 4; Plin. xxxv. 2; Euseb. *vit. Const.* i. 2.

3. **hoc agite.** See note, ch. 30.

11. **Plures efficimur**: 'We spring up in greater numbers as often as we are mowed down by you'; comp. *ad Scap.* 5.

12. **semen est sanguis Christianorum.** Comp. the expression *sanguinem Christianum seminaverunt*, ch. 21. It was the steadfast endurance of the Christians under persecution that led to the conversion of many who, like Justin Martyr or Arnobius, were compelled to recognize the existence of a Divine truth and power upholding the martyrs in their confession. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 8, 11; *dial. c. Try.* 110; August. *de civ. Dei* xviii. 53; xxii. 6, 7, 9; *Serm.* xxii. *in Ps.* lxvii. 3; *Serm.* ii. *in Ps.* lxx.; Leo *Serm.* 1 *in nat. SS. Pet. et Paul.*; Orig. *contr. Cels.* iv. 32; *de princ.* iv. 1; Lact. v. 19, 23; Tatian. *Orat.* 29. See the Introduction, p. xiii.

13. **in Tusculanis**: 'in his Tusculan Disputations.'

14. **in Fortuitis**: 'in his work "on Chances"'; the original treatise is no longer extant.

15. **tantos . . . quantos.** See note, ch. 1.

16. **factis docendo**: 'by their practical instruction.'

**obstinatio.** See note, ch. 27.

totam Dei gratiam redimat, ut omnem veniam ab eo compensatione sanguinis sui expediat? Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur. Inde est, quod ibidem sententiis vestris gratias agimus; ut est aemulatio divinae rei et humanae, cum damnamur a vobis, a Deo absolvimur.

2. **Omnia enim huic operi delicta donantur.** On the efficacy of martyrdom for the pardon of sins see *de pat.* 13; *Scorp.* 6; *de pudic.* 9. 22; *de bapt.* 16, where it is termed a 'second Baptism,' *secundum lavacrum.*

4. **gratias agimus.** See above, ch. 46, and note, ch. 1.

# APPENDIX.

## I.

### S. Hieronymus: de viris illustribus, cap. LIII.

(*Migne, Patrol. Lat.* xxiii. 661.)

Tertullianus presbyter, nunc demum primus post Victorem et Apollonium Latinorum ponitur, provinciae Africae, civitatis Carthaginiensis, patre centurione proconsulari. Hic acris et vehementis ingenii, sub Severo principe et Antonino Caracalla maxime floruit; multaque scripsit volumina quae, quia nota sunt pluribus, praetermittimus. Vidi ego quemdam Paulum Concordiae, quod oppidum Italiae est, senem qui se beati Cypriani, jam grandis aetatis, notarium, cum ipse admodum esset adolescens, Romae vidisse diceret, referreque sibi solitum nunquam Cyprianum absque Tertulliani lectione unum diem praeteriisse, ac sibi crebro dicere *Da magistrum*, Tertullianum videlicet significans.

Hic, cum usque ad mediam aetatem presbyter Ecclesiae permansisset, invidia postea et contumeliis clericorum Romanae Ecclesiae, ad Montani dogma delapsus, in multis libris Novae Propheticae meminit; specialiter autem adversum Ecclesiam texuit volumina, *de pudicitia, de persecutione, de jejuniis, de monagamia, de exstasi* libros sex, et septimum quem *adversum Apollonium* composuit. Ferturque vixisse usque ad decrepitam aetatem, et multa, quae non exstant opuscula condidisse.

S. Vincentius Lerinensis: Commonitorium, cap. xviii.

Sed et Tertulliani quoque eadem ratio est; nam sicut ille [Origines] apud Graecos, ita hic apud Latinos nostrorum omnium facile princeps judicandus est. Quid enim hoc viro doctius? quid in divinis atque humanis rebus exercitatius? Nempe omnem philosophiam et cunctas philosophorum sectas, auctores adsertoresque sectarum, omnesque eorum disciplinas, omnem historiarum ac studiorum varietatem, mira quadam mentis capacitate complexus est. Ingenio vero nonne tam gravi ac vehementi excelluit, ut nihil sibi paene ad expugnandum proposuerit quod non aut acumine irruperit aut pondere eliserit? Jam porro orationis suae laudes quis exsequi valeat? Quae tanta nescio qua rationum necessitate conserta est, ut ad consensum sui quos suadere non potuerit, impellat: cujus quot paene verba, tot sententiae sunt; quot sensus, tot victoriae. Sciunt hoc Marciones, Apelles, Praxeae, Hermogenes, Judaei, Gentiles, Gnostici, ceterique; quorum ille blasphemias multis ac magnis voluminum suorum molibus, velut quibusdam fulminibus evertit. Et tamen hic quoque post haec omnia, hic, inquam, Tertullianus, Catholici dogmatis, i. e. universalis ac vetustae fidei parum tenax, ac disertior multo, quam fidelior, mutata deinceps sententia fecit ad extremum, quod de eo beatus confessor Hilarius quodam loco scribit: *sequenti*, inquit, *errore detraxit scriptis probabilibus auctoritatem.* Et fuit ipse quoque in Ecclesia magna tentatio.

# APPENDIX.

## II.

### Plinii Secundi Epistulae, x. 96, 97.

(*Ed. Weise.*)

**C. Plinius Trajano imperatori.**

Sollemne est mihi, Domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat, aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter hesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant: deturne paenitentiae venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desiisse non prosit: nomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani: confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus; perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitavi, qualecunque esset, quod faterentur, pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae, quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent se esse Christianos aut fuisse. Quum, praeeunte me, deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum afferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea maledicerent Christo; quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur qui sunt revera Christiani, ego dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem, sed desiisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante

viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt: ii et Christo maledixerunt. Affirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent: quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coëundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quaerere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam, ideoque, dilata cognitione, ad consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope jam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti; passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.

**Trajanus Plinio S.**

Actum, quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis caussis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum fuerit, veniam ex paenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri saeculi est.

# GENERAL INDEX.

## I.

Abdicare 14, 25.
Abgarus xvii.
abolefacere 109.
Abortion 34.
Academici 15.
Academy xix, 2, 138.
accuratior 83.
acerra 36.
Achivi 51.
addicta 49.
ad hoc 145.
Admetus 51.
adolatio 96.
adolere 96.
Advents, two 77.
Aedileship 117, 137.
aedilitas 137.
Aegyptii 69, 91, 97.
Aegyptus 55, 65, 125.
Aemilianus 12, 99.
Aemilius, Marcus 19.
aemulus 13.
Aeneadae 33, 94.
Aeneas 51.
Aesculani 92.
Aesculapius xi, 51 f., 86, 135.
aestimari non capit 60.
Aetna 150.
aevum 62, 88, 146.
Africa x, xii, 32, 46, 91, 112, 125.
African Church xii, xiii, xviii.
agape 26, 122.
agere 40, 105, 115, 152.
Agrigentines 122.
Agrippa 98.
Albinus, Clodius xvi f., 111 f.
Alburnus 19.
ales 83.
Alexamenos 58.
Alexander 45, 138.
Alexandrian apologists xix, 136.
alia die 87.
alienati 37.
alieno fraudando 130.
allegere in 43.
altercatio 7.
alumni confessionis suae 120.
Amalthaea 94.
Amazones 97.
ambiamus 119.
ambitio 23, 29.
Anacharsis 5.
Anaphe 125.
Anaxagoras 138.
Anaxarchus 151.
Ancharia 92.
Angeli 82, 101, 113.
angelis desertoribus 113.
Animae, de testimonio 60 f.
anima nova 30.
annotatio 49.
Antagonism between Church and World 1, 103.
antelucani coetus 9.
Antinous 50.
Antioch xvii.
Antiquity, argument from 17, 65, 142.
antistites xviii, 1.
Antonine column 21.
Antoninus Pius xiv f., 21 f.
Anubis 25, 53.
anulus pronubus 24.
Anytus 52.
Apaturia mysteria 122.
Apicius 15.
Apollinarianism 76.
Apollinaris, Claudius 21.
Apollo 47, 51, 86, 135 f.
Apollonius 4, 21.

Apologists xvi, xviii.
Apology, The vii; date of viii, xv, xvii; purpose of xviii, xx; analysis of xxii; synopsis of xxiii; second edition of 65, 143; Greek translation of 19.
Apotheosis of emperors 41, 109.
apparere 41, 49 f., 147.
appellare 39.
Appion 69.
Apples of Sodom 125.
aquarioli 131.
Aquileia 91.
aquilicia 126.
Arabia xvi f., 47, 55, 91, 129.
arcana 78.
archiva 69, 78.
arena 33, 35, 118.
argentum 23.
argilla 46.
Argivi 139.
Argos 65, 81.
Aristaeas 64.
Aristarchus 15.
Aristides 45.
Aristippus 138.
Aristoteles 138.
Arnobius xix.
Artemis 33.
Asclepiodotus 87.
Asia xv, 22, 125.
asinarii 56, 58.
asininum caput 55.
Ass-born deity, worship of 58.
Ass's head, worship of 55.
associatio 76.
Assyria 97.
Assyrii 65, 97.
Astartis 33.
astra 6.
astrologi 113.
Astrology 6, 113, 131.
astutia suadendi 98.
Atargatis 91.
Atheists, Christians denounced as 39, 90.
Athena 122.
Athenienses 52.
Atlanticum mare 125.
Atreus 121.
Attica mysteria 122.
Atys 53.
augures 113.
Augustine, S. vii, xii.
Augustus x, 17, 23, 25, 108.
aulaei vice 146.
aurea imago 52.
Aurelius, Marcus, see Marcus Aurelius.

Babylonii 97.
Bacchanalia 115, 122, 129.
Bacchus 26, 46.
Baptism, Holy 71, 121.
Barchochebas 72.
Beasts, Christians thrown to, 46, 125.
Belenus 91.
Bellona 35.
Berosus 69.
bestiarii 33, 58, 111, 129.
Bithynia 17.
Blood, as an article of food 35.
Boeotia 81.
botulus 36.
Brachmanae 128.
Britain xvi, 4, 112.
Byrsa xi, 49, 87.
Byzantium xvii.

Caelestis xi f., 46, 48 f., 86, 91.
caelo tangitur 147.
caelum stetit 125.
Caesares Christiani 79.
Caesaris caput, salus 106, 113.
caesio 123.
Caius (early Christian writer) 9.
Caius (fictitious name) 13, 143.
Calamities of the ancient world 125; of the empire 124.
Caligula 100, 111.
callidiore timiditate 101.
Callinicus 152.
Campania 125.
canas 68.
candelabra 31.
Cannae 126.
cantabra 57.
cantherii 56.
capite nudo 103.
Capitol, Carthaginian xi, 48 f.; Roman xii, 2, 25, 64, 94, 96 f., 126, 127.
caprae divinare 85.
Carthage vii ff., xviii, 1, 35, 46, 86 f., 94, 118; capitol at xi, 48 f.; Christian metropolis xii f.; city of x, xiii; destruction of x; First

Council of xii; Fourth Council of xx; Phoenician Colony x; Roman Colony x.
Carthaginian apologists xix; church ix, xii; religion xi, 46; superstition 6.
Casinienses 92.
Cassius, Avidius 111.
Cassius Hemina 40.
Cassius Severus 40.
castellum 3, 115.
castitas 37.
Castor 84.
catervae caesionum 123.
catervatim 109.
Catiline 34.
Cato 45, 121.
cauterium 54.
Celsus 77, 91.
Celsus, Cornelius xi.
censere 27.
censuales 69.
census 27, 40, 47, 80.
Ceres 43, 50, 57.
certare 137.
Chaldaei 69.
Chaos 59.
Charity of early Christians 120 f.; 130.
Chastity of early Christians xiii, 9, 37, 152.
Chersonese, Tauric 33; Thracian 47.
Chiliasm 146.
Chrestianus 14.
Chrestus 15.
Christ, Deity of 9, 72; Jewish idea of 71; miracles of 77; Person of 76; Resurrection of 79; two Advents of 77.
Christianity, a factio 116; a religio illicita xiii, 16, 116; a religio nova xiii; a school of philosophy 135; confused with Judaism xiv, 55; position at law ix, xiii, 22; supreme claims of 1, 92, 117; wide diffusion of xii f., 4, 115.
Christianos ad leonem 125.
Christians, charity of 120 f., 130; 'communism' of 121; 'criminality' of 8, 12, 100; fortitude of xiii, 7, 152; fraternity of 120; integrity of 130, 138; mutual love of, 120; 'obstinacy' and 'madness' of 7, 9, 39, 98, 152; of high rank, 4, 8; persecutions of xiv f., 20 f., 46, 104 f., 114; regarded as 'atheists' 39, 90; unjustly condemned 2, 10, 26; unpopularity of xiv, 2, 12, 122; virtue of xiii, 9, 37, 152.
Cicero 45, 152.
circa 11.
circumscriptis 83.
Circus, the 117 f.
civilitas 114.
Civil liberty 108; magistracy 117.
Claudia Quinta 84.
Claudius, 25, 50, 115.
Claudius Apollinaris, 21.
clausula saeculi 106.
Cleander 111.
Cleanthes 74.
Clemens, Flavius xiv, 4, 39.
Clemens Alexandrinus xix, 4.
clipeum 57.
coetus antelucani 9.
cogere 109.
cognoscere 8.
collegia fabrum 116; legitima 116.
comitiali morbo 35.
commeatus 106, 136.
commentari 81.
commentator 40.
committere 90, 102.
commixtio 76.
Commodus viii, xv f., 4, 111.
'Communism' of early Christians, 121.
comparare 137, 139.
compensare 130.
comprehendi 59.
comprehensibilis 146.
compulsare 70.
compulsatio 70, 76, 117, 119.
concurrere 16, 37, 91.
concussio 27.
condicio 146.
conditio 65, 146.
conditrix 150.
conducitur 49.
Confirmation 30.
congiaria 103, 111.
congredi 93, 137 f.
congressio 93.
conscientias pulsare 34.
consecraneus 56.
consecrare 41.
consecratione municipali 92.
consignatus 30.
consistere 15, 66, 134, 137.
Constantine 17.

Constantius 110.
consulere de Caesaris capite 113.
contemplatio 123.
contesseratio 142.
continere 43, 60.
contingere 41, 66, 133.
convenire 38, 100, 105, 110.
copia 17.
Corinthium mare 125.
Cornelius Nepos 40.
cornutus 73.
corona 129.
corrumpere 14, 136.
Corybantes 86, 94.
Cos 125.
Crassus 45.
Crete 47, 94.
crimen laesae majestatis 32, 100; religionis 90.
Croesus 45, 66, 84, 136.
Cross, worship of the 56.
Ctesias 36.
cultores asini 56; hominis 71.
cum multis 44.
cum vultis 44.
Curetes 94.
curia 124.
curiositas 63, 95, 139.
Curis 92.
custodiae 36, 131.
Cybele 46, 53, 85 f., 93 f.
Cyclopes 28.
Cynocephalus 25.
Cynopaene 31.
Cyprian, S. xii, xix.
Cyrus 66.
Cyzicus xvii.

Daemoniacal agency 11, 13, 76, 81 ff., 99, 101, 116, 131, 142.
Danaus 65, 68.
dapes Saliares 122.
Darius 66.
Day of Judgment 88.
Dead Sea fruit 125.
De Baptismo 19.
debellare 21, 103.
debellator 20.
debellatrix 93.
de Caesaris salute consulere 113.
Decius 21.
decoquere 130.
De Corona vii.
dedicare 20, 46.
dedicator 20.
deductor 73.
defendere 137.
defundere statuas 151.
dehonoraria 120.
dejicere 79, 99.
delibatur 34.
deliberatur 34.
deliquium 78.
Delos 47, 125.
Delphic oracle 17.
Deluge, the 62.
Delventinus 92.
dementia 7, 39, 98.
demerendo sibi 62.
Demetrius 63, 69.
Democritus 137.
Demosthenes 45.
denotari 6.
Deo gratias 6.
depalare 41.
De Pallio vii.
depellere 37, 79, 90, 116.
deperire 2.
De Praescriptione Haereticorum 27.
deprecari 1.
deprecatores 126.
depretiare 133.
deputare 71 f., 95.
Derceto 91.
derivantes 72.
De Spectaculis 19, 118.
despectrix 97.
De Testimonio Animae 60.
Deus deificus 44; deorum 42.
De Virginibus Velandis 19.
Diana 47, 50, 53.
dicacitas plebis 110 f.
Didius Julianus xvi.
Dido 150.
Dies Dominica 58; Solis 58.
digestum 139.
digitus unicus 24.
dilatio 70.
dilectio 122.
dilectus indicentur 122.
dinumerare 5.
Diocletian 46, 110.
Diodorus 40.
Diogenes 52, 122, 137, 152.
Diomedes 51.
Dionysia mysteria 122.
Dionysius 12, 99, 138, 151.
Dionysus 80 f.

Dioscuri 84.
discuti 18.
disjicere 79.
Disloyalty of Christians, 38, 100.
dispector 132.
dispunctio 62, 67.
dispungere 62, 115, 131, 133.
distinguere 71 f.
Divination 34, 85.
Divorce, frequency of 25.
domesticis judiciis 1; senibus 120.
Domitian xiv, 4, 20, 22, 39, 100, 108 f., 112.
Domitilla xiv, 4.
Domitius Aënobarbus 85.
Dualism 129.
duritia saeviendi 99.
Dusares 91.

East, symbolism of the 57.
Eclectus xvi.
Edessa xvii.
editio 58.
effigies litterarum 68.
Egypt xvii, 112.
Eleusinia mysteria 28, 80, 122.
elidunt 85.
eliminare 25.
elogium 2, 8, 53, 91, 131.
Elysii campi 143.
emancipare 37.
Embalming of dead 130.
Empedocles 122, 150.
Emperor-worship 100.
Ennius 40, 43.
Enoch, Book of 82.
enubilabant 112.
Epicurei 15, 141.
Epicurus 133, 140.
Epona, 56.
Erasistratus 15.
ergastula 99.
erogare 131, 147.
et 12, 115.
Ethics, heathen 132; Christian 132.
Eucharist, Holy 9, 26, 38, 119.
Euhemerus 39 f.
Euphorion 68.
Eusebius vii.
Eutychianism 76.
evigorata 60.
exactor 126.
exancillata 60.
excessus 37, 82, 94.
Excommunication 119, 132, 138.
exorbitare 23, 36, 58, 70, 72.
Exorcism 86, 89.
expungere 11, 54, 77, 110.
exta 33, 85.
extra 138.
extranei 28, 56, 105 f., 138.

Fabricius 23.
fabulari 123.
factiones licitae 116 f.
Factions of the Circus 117.
Falisci 92.
Fama malum 28.
famulare 77.
Fannia, lex 23.
farcimen 36.
Fatalism 6.
fatum 6, 74, 94.
Faustula 50.
Festus 7.
Felix, Minucius xviii.
fidei obstinatione 100.
fidem naturae 30.
Fides 90.
fides Christianorum 130, 138.
flagitare 134.
flagra rumpentium 24.
Flavius Clemens xiv, 4, 39.
florere 43.
foculus 36.
fores pulsare 34.
Fortitude of early Christians xiii, 7, 152; of Pagans 150 f.
fraudare 70.
frequentiae montium 70.
frustrandis bestiis 58.
Fundanus, Minucius xiv, 22.
fur balnearius 131.

Gabinius 25.
Galerius 16.
Galilaea 79.
Galilaeans 130.
Galli 86.
Gallienus 117.
Gaul 112.
Gauls 33.
genius Caesaris 36, 101, 106 f.
Gilds and associations xiv, 116.
Gladiatorial shows 33, 54, 132.
Gods (heathen) mortal men 39; ridiculed 51 f., 135.
Gomorra 125.
Gracchus, Caius x.

Grace before meals 123.
gradus 75.
Graeci 59, 96.
Graecia 93.
gratias agere 6, 138, 153.
Greek treatises of Tertullian 19.

Habere 114.
Hadrian xiv f., 22, 50, 72.
Hannibal xi, 126.
Hanno xi.
harioli 131.
Harnack, Professor viii.
Harpocrates 25.
haruspices 49, 112, 131.
hastarium 48.
Hebraei 63.
Heraclitus 140.
Herculanae decimae 122.
Hercules 50 ff., 122.
Heresy 142.
Herodotus 34.
hesterni sumus 115.
hetaeriae 116.
Hiera 125.
Hiero 136.
Hieroglyphics 68.
Hippias 138.
Hippolytus 9.
historici 69.
hoc agite 105, 152.
Homer 51, 68.
homicidii festinatio 34.
homicidium 8, 33 f.
honoraria 120.
Horoscopes 6, 113.
Hostia 92.
Hostilii 53.
hostis publicus 8, 100, 109.
Hymnody, early Christian 9.

Idaeum antrum 94.
ignis ille 89.
ignorantes 31.
Iliacum exitium 66.
illuminatio 121.
Images 96.
immensus 60.
impingere 14.
imprimere 22.
improbata 67.
Inachus 68.
Incense 36, 104, 129.
Incest 8, 26, 36.
insidere 95, 151.
incomprehensibilis 59, 146.
Indi 128.
induere 53.
infamant 85.
Infanticide 26, 34.
infanticidium 8, 26, 33.
Infants, exposure of 37.
inficias ire 39.
infructuosi in negotiis 128, 131.
ingenia 52, 96, 148.
inire 130.
innatum et infectum 42.
inofficiosa 126.
inquisitio 10.
insania circi 118.
inscriptio 2.
instrumentum xxi, 61, 69, 141.
insulae 47, 115.
intelligi subjacet 54.
intelligere 47, 103.
intentio 98, 134.
interim 30, 76.
Iphigenia 33.
Irenaeus, S. 4.
Iromus 69.
Isis 25.
Issus xvii.
Italia 25, 41, 43, 92, 112, 125.

Janus 41, 100.
Jerome, S. vii ff., 155.
Jerusalem, council of 35; destruction of x, 56, 64, 72.
Jews xvii, 55, 125; confused with Christians xiv, 55; general state of 72; in Carthage x; privileged in religion 64, 71; Roman treaties with 98.
Jocaste 121.
Josephus 64, 69.
Jovem Christianum 33.
Juba 69, 91.
Judaea 79, 97.
Judaei 22, 27, 55, 63 f., 66, 71 f., 76, 78, 140.
Judaïco more 58.
Judaism xiv, 64.
Julia, lex 17.
Julian, emp. 130.
Julianus, Didius xvi.
Julius Caesar x.
Juno xi, 46 f., 49 f., 53, 87, 92, 94.
Junonia x.

Jupiter 21, 33, 36, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51 ff., 64, 66, 73 f., 90, 94 f., 100 f., 126 f., 130.
Justin Martyr xix, 4.

Laberius 143.
Lacedaemonian cloak 24; laws 17, 138.
Lacones 138.
lacrimantes 32.
Lactantius xix.
Laetus xvi.
Lais 50.
Lampoons on emperors 110.
Laomedon 51.
Larentina 50, 93 f.
Latin versions (African) of Scriptures xiii, 77.
Laurentia 50, 93 f.
laurus, inter duas 111.
Labadia 81.
Leda 73.
Legal terms used by Tertullian 1 f., 7 ff., 12 ff., 16 ff., 24, 27, 37 ff., 69 f., 91 f., 98, 100, 102, 110, 123, 130, 133 f., 137 f.
Legio fulminatrix 21.
Lentuli 53.
Leucas 86.
Liber 25, 43, 46.
Liberalia 129.
libertini 23.
licere 16.
Licinia, lex 23.
limes medius 146.
litteraturae xxi, 61, 139.
locales 70.
locorum differentia 85.
'Lord,' title of Emperor 106, 108.
Lucania 19, 125.
Lucullus 43.
lumina floruisse 43.
Luna 53.
Luperci 97.
Lycurgus 17, 138.
Lydia 84.
Lyon xv, xvii.

Macedones 36.
Macedonia 47.
'Madness' of Christians 7.
magister sacrorum 31.
Magistrates xv f., 7, 115, 149.
magus 77, 85, 113, 131.
majestas 38, 101, 110.
Malum 82.
manceps 42.
mandata principum 11, 17.
Manetho 69.
manibus expansis 103.
Manichaeism 129.
manticularius 131.
manu facta 119.
Marathon 138.
Marcion ix, 141.
Marcomanni xv, 115.
Marcus Aurelius, character of viii, 6, 20 f., 140; death of xv, 93; letter of 21; persecutor xv, 21 f.; 'protector' 21 f., 46.
Mars 51, 97.
Martia xvi.
Martial 7.
Martyrdom, efficacy of 153.
Martyrs, Christian xiii, xv, 142.
materiae matrix 75; sorores 45.
Mater magna 93.
mathematici 6, 131.
matrix 76.
Mauri 115.
Mauritania, 91, 115.
Maximus, S. 108.
Mecenius 24.
Medi 97.
Megarenses 122.
Melampus 81.
meliores parentes 37.
Melito of Sardis xv, 20, 22.
Melitus 52.
memoria 37.
Menander 69.
Mendesius 69.
Menedemus 64.
mensae divinare 85.
mercenarius noxius 33, 58.
Mercurius 33, 54.
mereor 107.
meridiani 54.
Mesopotamia xvii.
metalla 47, 99, 102, 132.
Military oath 107, 117, 129; terms used by Tertullian 3, 15 f., 37, 67, 90, 93, 119, 134, 137 f.
militia 32, 45.
militia patriae nostrae 32.
Minerva 43, 48 f., 53, 122.
Mines, penal servitude in 47, 99, 102, 132.

Minos 88.
Minucius Felix xviii.
Minucius Fundanus 22.
miscere 76, 121.
Mob-law xv f., 115.
modulus 75.
monitor 103.
Montanus viii f.
mora finis 106, 119.
morticina 36.
Moses 65 f., 68, 80, 133.
Mucius Scaevola 150.
multum est 80.
munerarii 132.
municipali consecratione 92.
municipes 69.
Musaeus 80.
Mutinus 93.

Narcissus xvi, 111.
Narinenses 92.
Nature, witness to God 60.
nepotari 138.
Neptunus 51.
Nero xiv, 12, 20, 46, 80, 100, 109.
Nerva xiv, 20.
Nestorianism 76.
New prophecy ix.
Nicaea, council of 75; defeat of Niger at xvii.
Niger, Pescennius xvi, 111 f.
Nilus 124.
nocturnae convocationes 123.
Norici 91.
Nortia 92.
nota censoria 6.
nubilabant 112.
nudipedalia 126.
Numa 81, 95, 97, 105.
numerus 75.
Numidia, xii, 91.
nutabat 140.

Obba 49.
obducere 130, 150.
oblatio 9.
obligatio 100.
obsessa 3.
obsoletant 54.
'Obstinacy' of Christians 7, 9, 39, 98, 152.
obstruere gradum 98.
occupare 143.
occurrere 133.
Ocriculani 92.
Oedipus 36, 121.
Oenotria 41.
offerri 9, 131.
officia temporum 70.
olitorium 49.
Olympus 101.
omnia indiscreta 121.
operatores 88.
opinio 29.
opinor 33.
oppansum 56.
oppignerare 24.
orbita 23.
ordines 68.
Origen xix, 4.
origines 68.
Orpheus 80.
ostensor 43.

Pabula propria 83, 88.
paenula 24.
Pagan ethics 132; fortitude 150 f.; Philosophers, borrowers from Holy Scripture 139; poor 140.
Paganism xix f.
Palaestina 19, 125.
palaestrica 111 f.
Pallas 57.
palmata vestis 150.
Pan 97.
Pandateria 4.
Panonia xvi.
Pantheon 2, 91.
Papia Poppaea, lex 17.
Paradise 142.
paralyticos restringere 77.
paraturae 99.
Paris 53.
parricidae 112.
parricidium 32 ff.
Parthenii 112.
Parthi 115.
Parthian war xvii, 111 f.
parum est 23.
parum hoc 78.
pascua 83.
pater sacrorum 31.
Patriarchs 142.
patrocinari 24.
pejerare 101.
Penance 119.
perduellio 38.
peregrina 2.

perfundere 5, 126.
Perpetua, S. 11.
Persae 36, 57.
Persecutions 20 f.; frequency of xv f.; cruelties of 46, 104; First xiv, 20, 80; local xiv, xvi, 114.
Pertinax xvi, 112.
Pessinus 53, 93.
petitur 49.
Phaethon 53.
Philosophi 52, 81, 135 ff., 140, 142, 147 f.
philosophiae genus 135.
Phoenices 69.
Phoenicia x.
Phoenix, fable of the 145.
Phrygia 93.
Phryne 50, 137.
Pieria 80.
Pilate, Pontius 78 f.; Acts of 19.
Pindar 51.
pignerare 24, 48.
Pisistratus 63.
Piso 25.
Pius, Antoninus, see Antoninus Pius.
Plato 42, 82, 88, 90, 125, 137 f., 140.
Platonici 15, 140 f.
Plautus 4.
Pliny Secundus xiv, 4, 6 ff., 17; Letter to Trajan xiv, 157.
plumatus 73.
plumbatis 102.
Pluto 54.
Poetae 51, 81, 88, 139, 142 f., 148.
pollicitatrix 86.
pollinctor 49.
Polycarp, S. xv, 99, 106.
Polycrates 45.
Pompeii 125.
Pompeius, Cnaeus 45, 56.
Pomponia Graecina 4.
Pontus 43.
Popular hatred of Christians, 2, 12.
portio 20, 75.
postumare 68.
praecellentia 85.
praecipitare 83, 127.
praeco 49.
praedo lavantium 131.
praeëuntes 103.
praefari 52.
praefectura 63.
praegustare 123.
praescribere 27, 141.
praesentaneus 101.
praesident probati seniores 119.
praesidentes 9, 119.
praesides xviii, 1, 90, 152.
praesumptio 38, 93, 98, 148.
praeteresse 118.
praeteritis vobis 115.
Praetorians, the xvi, 112.
praevaricare 12.
Prayer before meals 123; for emperors 102 ff.; for enemies 105; forms of 103; hours of 123; posture of 103, 105; towards the East 57.
Priam 68.
Priapus 93.
Prienenses 137.
primogenitus 77.
princeps 17.
principalis 17.
Proconsul of Africa x, xvii f., 1, 134.
proconsulatus Tiberii 32.
Proculus 79.
procuranti 78.
professio 130.
prolatio 74.
Prometheus 61.
pronuntiare 8, 135.
prophetia 66.
proprietas 92.
prosecare 33, 135.
protector 21.
Providence 64.
providenter 70.
Provincial governors xviii, 1.
provocare 39, 137.
Ptolemaeus Philadelphus 63 f.
publici hostes 8, 109.
pudicitia 73.
pulsare apud conscientias 34.
Punic wars x, 40.
purgare 7, 18.
Pyriphlegethon 142.
Pyrrhon 152.
Pyrrhus 84.
Pythagoras 42, 59, 137, 140, 143.
Pythagorici 15.
Pythiae titulus 145.
Pythius 84.

Quadratus 99.
quaestuaria 49.
qua et homo 20.

Quindecimviri 97.
Quiris 92.
Quirites, 110.

Racematio 112.
radius ex sole 75.
Ratio 74, 78, 88.
rationem inire 130.
recognitio praeteritorum 67.
refrigerium 123.
regula veritatis xxi, 141 f.
Regulus 150.
relatum in archivis 78.
religio frugi 96; illicita xiii, 16, 116; licita 64, 71; nova xiii; secundae majestatis 110.
religionis est instar 65.
religiosi crucis 56.
Religious liberty 92.
reluminare 77.
repraesentaneus 60, 101.
repraesentari 59.
reprobi 104.
repudium 25.
rescribere 9.
rescriptum 17.
resipiscere 60.
resolvere 77.
restringere 77.
resurrectio 151.
Resurrection of the body 143 ff.; of Christ 79; natural analogies of 145 f.
retardari 106.
retractare 14, 16, 42, 92, 122.
Revelation, witness of 60.
Rhadamanthus 88.
Rhodians 122.
Rhodos 125.
Roman Church ix; clergy viii; Emperors, apotheosis of 41, 109; how regarded by Christians 107; Empire, aspects of 103, 106; piety, early 96; prosperity 93, 95; senate xiii, xviii, 19, 25, 111, 115.
Rome viii ff., xv ff., 4, 20, 80, 92 f., 126.
Romulus 24, 50, 79.
Rufinus of Aquileia 7.
Rufinus, Cornelius 23.
Rule of Faith 59, 141.
rumor 29.

Sabaei 129.
Sabbath 58.
sacramentum 9, 26, 55, 68.
Sacrifice, the Christian 38.
Sacrifices, heathen 38.
Sacrilege 8, 12, 38, 54.
sacro an arbitrio 33.
saeculum 62, 67 f., 70, 97, 106.
salaria 135.
Salii 41, 97, 122.
salus Caesaris 106, 113.
Salvian xi f.
Samos 47, 94.
Samothracia mysteria 28.
Sapientia 88.
sarmenticii 150.
Sarpedon 51.
Satanas 82.
Saturday 58.
Saturnalia 129.
Saturnia 41, 43.
Saturnus 32 f., 40 f., 43, 48, 58, 65 f., 94 f.
scholae bestiarium 111.
Sciapodes 31.
Scipio x, 45.
scrinium 68.
Scriptures, antiquity of 65; divinity of 70; public reading of 64, 84.
scrupulositas humana 140.
Scythae 35.
sectatores 69.
securiores 37.
semaxii 150.
semen sanguis 152.
Semo 50.
Senate, Roman xiii, xviii, 19, 25, 111, 115.
Seneca 6, 47, 132, 140, 152.
senes pueri 37.
seniores probati 119.
Senones 126.
Septuagint 63 f.
Serapeum 64.
Serapiacae cenae 122.
Serapis 25 f.
Sermo 74, 88.
Severus, Septimius, character of 17 f.; indulgent to Christians 4, 18, 22; proclaimed emperor xvi; rescript of xv, xvii, 16; in the East xvii, 112; victory over Albinus xvii, 112; victory over Niger xvii.
Sibylla 67 f.

Sibylline books 78, 97.
sicarii 131.
Sicilia 47, 125.
si forte 57, 127.
Sigerii 112.
signaculum 71.
silicernium 49.
silvam caedere 17.
silvestris Roma 97.
Simonides 136.
Simon Magus 50.
simplicitas veritatis 140.
simpulum 49.
singulares Christiani 31.
siphara 57.
Sirenes 28.
Sirmium 93.
Socordius 87.
Socrates (eccles. hist.) xx.
Socrates (philosopher) 45, 52, 81, 121, 135, 137.
Sodoma 125.
Sol 53, 57.
solere 44.
Solis dies 58.
Solon 66.
solum patris filium 33.
sortire 10.
Soul, materiality of 83, 144; immateriality of 144; state of, after death 142; witness of, to God 60 f.
Spain 47.
Spartans 17, 24, 139.
sparteoli 122.
spectacula 117 f., 129.
Speusippus 137.
Spiritus 74 f., 78, 88.
squamatus 73.
statuas defundere 151.
status 76.
Sterculius 93, 95.
sterilitas 131.
stare 125.
Stoici 15, 140 f.
Stoic philosophy 6, 74, 132, 140 f.
Stratonicus 122.
strophae 53.
structoriae 51.
Subordination of the Son 75 f.
subscribi 23, 63.
substantia aeternitatis 147.
substantiae 68.
subnero 20.
suffragium 14, 78.
suggerere 63, 97 f., 107.
suggestus 57, 63.
suggillare 15.
suggillatio 44.
Sulla 45.
Sumptuary laws 23.
Sun, worship of 57.
Sunday, observance of 58.
superficies 55.
superinduti 147.
supervenire de caelo 41.
suppetit 82.
supputatio saeculi 65.
suspicere 64, 90, 107.
suspirare 53.
sustinere 32, 53, 96, 113.
Sutrini 92.
synodi deus 50.
Syria xvi f., 19, 78, 91, 112.

Tabella 13.
tabernaculum 54.
tabularii 122.
Tacitus 55 f.
tangere de caelo 147.
Tanit xi, 49.
tanti, quanti 3, 152.
Tarpeii 125.
Tarquinius Priscus 97.
Tauricae fabulae 33.
templatim 130.
Temples, heathen, depositories of treasure 101.
tempora 62, 70.
tempus 67.
tentamenta 36.
tentatus 83.
terrae filii 41.
Tertullianus, birth and parentage vii, 62; conversion vii, xiii; chiliastic opinions 146; death ix; eloquence vii, xviii; founder of School of Apologists xviii; lapse into Montanism viii; legal knowledge vii; priest viii; rhetorician vii, xviii; style xviii; visit to Rome viii; writings ix, 19.
testimonium perhibere 40; reddere 52, 136.
Testimony of the Soul 60 f.
Thales 66, 136, 145.
Thallus 40, 65, 69.
Thanatius 87.
theatrum 24, 118.

Thebani 139.
Themistocles 45.
Theopompus 68.
thesaurus xxi, 139.
Three Orders 120.
Thundering Legion 21.
Thurii 137.
Thyestes 121.
Tiberii proconsulatus 32.
Tiberis 110, 124.
Tiberius 6, 19, 25, 27, 32, 79, 108, 113, 125.
Titani 65.
titulus 2, 23, 40, 100, 124, 128, 131 f., 145, 148, 151.
Titus xiv, 22.
Torture 11, 46, 105, 148, 150.
Tradition 142.
tradux 29, 37.
trahens homines 28.
Trajan, correspondence with Pliny xiv, 8 f., 22, 158; policy of, towards Christians xiv f., 9, 22.
Transmigration of souls 143.
Treason 12, 38.
Trevoux, plain of xvii.
Trinity, Holy 75.
Trithemius vii.
Trojanus 51, 65, 93.
Trophonius 81.
trulla 48.
Tuccia 84.
Tullius Cicero 45, 152.
tunc et 39.
Tusci 96.
Tuscia 125.
Tutinus 93.
Twelve Tables, laws of xiii, 18.
tyrannis 137.

Unitas substantiae 75.
unitio 76.
unum est tempus 67, 71.

vacare 3, 43, 63.
Valentia 92.
Valentinus ix, 74, 141.
Varro 52.
vasa Samia 96.
vectigalia templorum 48, 130.
vectigalis libertas 64.
venae 68.
venenarii 131.
Venus 51, 53.
venustates 53.
Verbum 74, 77.
vernacula plebs 110.
vernaculae litterae 63.
vernaculus 69, 93.
Verus, Lucius 22, 111.
Vespasian xiv, 22, 64.
vestales 97.
vetus decretum 19; instrumentum 61, 141.
vicatim 130.
vice 99, 108.
Victoriae 57.
viderit 56, 93, 129.
Vienna 93.
Vienne xv.
vilitas 123.
Vincent Lerin. vii, 156.
vindemia 112.
Virtus 74, 78, 88.
virtutes 63.
Visidianus 92.
Vitellius 6.
Volsinienses 92.
Volsinii 125.
vulgus xv, 111, 115, 149.

xystus 118.

Zacharias 66.
Zeno 74, 137, 150 f.

## II.

*ἀποκαρτέρησις* 17, 138.
*ἀφορισμός* 119.

*Γνῶθι σεαυτόν* 145.

*δεῖπνα Θυέστεια* 26.

*ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν* 76.
*ἐξομολόγησις* 119.

*θηριομάχης* 33.

*κατέχον, τό* 106.
*κόσμος* 59.
*κρᾶσις* 76.
*κώμη* 3.

*Λόγος* 74, 77.

Οἰδιποδείοι μίξεις 26.
ὁμοούσιον 75.
ὀνοκοίτης 58.
οὐρανοπετεῖς 41.
ὄχλος 137.
παραλύω 77.
παιδομαντεία 85.
προβολή 74.
συναφεία 76.
σύνχυσις 76.
σύνθρονοι 50.
ὕλη 17.
χρηστός 15.

# INDEX OF TEXTS.

GENESIS.
vi. 2 . . . 82, 113
ix. 4 ff. . . . 35
xlii. 15 . . . 107

LEVITICUS.
xvii. 10 ff. . . 35
xxii. 8 . . . 36
xxvi. 22 . . . 70

DEUTERONOMY.
viii. 19 . . . 73
xi. 16 f. . . . 73
xxviii. 15 ff. . . 73

1 SAMUEL.
viii. 6 f. . . . 72

PSALMS.
xxii. 1–18 . . 78
xxxviii. 5 . . 66
lxvi. 12 . . . 123

ISAIAH.
vi. 9 f. . . . 77
vii. 14 . . . 76
xl. 4 . . . . 70
xliv, ff. . . . 45
xliv. 3 f. . . . 61
liii. . . . . 78
lxv. 2 . . . . 78

JEREMIAH.
ii. 12 . . . . 78
vi. 30 . . . . 104

EZEKIEL.
iv. 44 . . . . 36
v. 8 ff. . . . 73
v. 17 . . . . 70
xxi. 31 . . . 70
xxi. 36 . . . 70
xxxiv. 31 . . . 83

HOSEA.
iii. 4 . . . . 72
x. 3 . . . . 72

JOEL.
i. 18 . . . . 83
ii. 28 ff. . . 61, 73

AMOS.
viii. 9 . . . . 78

S. MATTHEW.
v. 44 . . . . 105
v. 45 . . . . 127
vii. 3 . . . . 122
vii. 22 . . . . 88
viii. 16 . . . 77
viii. 29 . . . 88
x. 22 . . . . 1
x. 36 . . . . 27
xi. 12 . . . . 119
xiii. 28 ff. . . 127
xiii. 49 . . . 127
xvi. 21 . . . 78
xviii. 18 . . . 119
xxiv. 12 . . . 70
xxiv. 35 . . . 146
xxiv. 67 . . . 70
xxv. 32 . . . 127
xxv. 41 . . . 89
xxvii. 23 f. . . 79

S. MARK.
iv. 37 . . . . 77
viii. 31 . . . 78
xv. 26 . . . 132

S. LUKE.
i. 52 . . . . 70
iii. 1 . . . . 78
iii. 14 . . . . 27
iv. 16 ff. . . . 64
vi. 41 . . . . 122
ix. 26 . . . . 72
ix. 49 . . . . 88
x. 17 . . . . 88
xx. 36 . . . . 147
xxiii. 20 ff. . . 78

S. JOHN.
i. 8 . . . . 40
iii. 10 . . . . 78
iv. 24 . . . . 75
v. 30 . . . . 40
x. 30 . . . . 74
xii. 24 . . . 145
xv. 18 . . . . 1
xix. 33 . . . 78

ACTS.
x. 41 . . . . 79
xiii. 15 . . . 64
xiv. 12 . . . 41
xv. 20 . . . 35, 36
xv. 21 . . . 64
xvii. 18 . . . 61
xviii. 2 . . . 15
xxv. 16 . . . . 7
xxviii. 6 . . . 41

ROMANS.
i. 16 . . . . 72
i. 20 f. . . . 60
i. 21 . . . . 126
vi. 22 . . . . 77
xiii. 1 f. . . 105, 107

1 CORINTHIANS.
iv. 12 f. . . . 105
v. 3 ff. . . . . 119
vii. 31 . . . . 146
xii. 13 . . . . 121
xv. 36 . . . . 145

2 CORINTHIANS.
v. 4 . . . . . 147

EPHESIANS.
iv. 11 f. . . . 30
iv. 13 . . . . . 133

PHILIPPIANS.
i. 23 . . . . . 128
iii. 11 . . . . . 133

COLOSSIANS.
i. 15 . . . . . 77
iii. 2 . . . . . 128

1 THESSALONIANS.
v. 21 . . . . . xx

2 THESSALONIANS.
ii. 2–11 . . . . 106

1 TIMOTHY.
i. 18 . . . . . 66
i. 20 . . . . . 119
ii. 2 . . . . . 105
iii. 2 . . . . . 119
iv. 5 . . . . . 123

2 TIMOTHY.
i. 8 . . . . . 72
iii. 8 . . . . . 104

TITUS.
i. 6 . . . . . . 119
iii. 1 . . . . . 105

HEBREWS.
xi. 13 . . . . . . 2
xiii. 15 . . . . 104

1 PETER.
ii. 11 . . . . . . 2
ii. 13 . . . . . 105
iii. 9 . . . . . 105
iv. 15 f. . . . . 132

2 PETER.
ii. 4 . . . . . 88
ii. 5 f. . . . . . 62

1 JOHN.
ii. 17 . . . . . 146

JUDE.
6 . . . . . . 113

THE END.